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BERLIN: ASHER & CO., 13, UNTER DEN LINDEN.

NEW YORK: C. SCRIBNER & CO.; LEYPOLDT & HOLT.

PHILADELPHIA: J. B. LIPPINCOTT & CO.

*The Lay Folks' Catechism.*

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*Early English Text Society.*

*Original Series, No. 118.*

1901.

The  
**Lay Folks' Catechism,**  
 OR THE ENGLISH AND LATIN VERSIONS OF  
**Archbishop Chioresby's Instruction for**  
**the People;**

TOGETHER WITH A *WYCLIFFITE ADAPTATION* OF THE SAME,  
 AND THE CORRESPONDING CANONS OF THE COUNCIL  
 OF LAMBETH.

With Introduction, Notes, Glossary, and Index,

BY THE LATE

**THOMAS FREDERICK SIMMONS, M.A.,**  
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AND

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 VICAR OF BEVERLEY MINSTER, AND CANON OF YORK.

*5/159  
28/11/05*

LONDON:

PUBLISHED FOR THE EARLY ENGLISH TEXT SOCIETY  
 By KEGAN PAUL, TRENCH, TRÜBNER & CO.,  
 PATERNOSTER HOUSE, CHARING-CROSS ROAD.

1901

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no 118

Original Series, No. 118.

RICHARD CLAY & SONS, LIMITED, LONDON & BUNGAY.

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## PREFATORY NOTE.

THE late Canon Simmons had made considerable progress with this work before his lamented death. Had he lived to complete the task, it would have formed a fitting companion to his *Lay Folks' Mass-Book*, which was published by the Early English Text Society in 1879. In that volume<sup>1</sup> we have the "Lex Orandi," in the present, the "Lex Credendi"—of the Church of our forefathers in mediæval times. Canon Simmons was able to see in type the four texts which are here presented to the reader; he had put together a large number of notes, and made the first rough draft of a glossary and index. The uncompleted work he passed on to Mr. F. D. Matthew, and those who are acquainted with that scholar's edition of the *Unprinted English Works of Wyclif*, and other important contributions to the study of the mediæval literature of this country, will regret that his engagements prevented him from carrying forward Canon Simmons' work to its conclusion. He was able, however, to do some good work upon the notes, and to add several of his own; and then, at the suggestion of a mutual friend, he asked me to finish it. Partly influenced by the memory of my former friendship with Canon Simmons, and partly by the interest with which I regarded the subject, I consented. For the completion of the Glossary and Index, I am indebted to the accomplished hand of Miss Gunning, of Cambridge, assisted by her friend the late Miss Parkinson; and for much valuable assistance in the German literature which had to be consulted, to my wife. I have revised, completed and made sundry additions to the notes, and written an Introduction, which includes notices of Archbishops Peckham and Thoresby, and of Wyclif; a section dealing with the differences of dialect in the two 14th century English texts; and some account of the History of Catechisms.

<sup>1</sup> (Coupled with the *Lay Folks' Prayer-Book*, edited for the Early English Text Society, by Mr. H. Littlehales.)

With this volume the Early English Text Society has completed the publication of the extant authorized English Formularies of the Northern province.

I have only to add, that I am but too well aware how ill-equipped a town-clergyman, who can only follow up literary pursuits of this kind in the brief intervals of a busy life, must inevitably prove, when he essays to take up a work which has fallen from such practised hands: and the same cause must be my apology for the long delay which has occurred in the publication of the volume.

H. E. NOLLOTH.

*Beverley, July 1900.*

## INTRODUCTION.

### § 1. THREE OF THE EARLIEST ENGLISH REFORMERS.

In the four mediæval documents which form the text of this volume, we have an interesting survival of the efforts of three of the earliest of the English Reformers. For John de Thoresby and John Peckham, the Northern and the Southern Primates, no less than John de Wyclif, the Oxford scholar and leader, deserved that title. All three men were anxious, before everything else, to amend the carelessness and the inconsistency of the clergy, and the consequent ignorance and corruption of the laity of their day. And, widely as they differed from each other,—Thoresby from Peckham as far as both from Wyclif,—in this respect their efforts were not only similar, but connected. The Lay Folks' Catechism of Thoresby must have been suggested by the Constitutions of Peckham, and the “Wycliffite Adaptation” of the present volume was a new and expanded edition of the Catechism of Thoresby. It will be necessary to say something about each of these men; and as this will best be done in order of time, we will begin with the Southern archbishop.

#### I. JOHN PECKHAM.

John Peckham was born in Sussex about the year 1240, and received his early education in the priory at Lewes, from which he proceeded to the University of Paris, studying under St. Bonaventura. He was appointed Reader in Divinity at Oxford; and there joined the order of St. Francis. Returning to Paris, he lectured on theology; was appointed Provincial Minister of the Franciscans in England, and was invited to Rome, where he became the Lector Sacri Palatii; “in fact,” as Mr. Martin observes in his preface to *Peckham's Register of Letters*, “he was the first theological lecturer in the newly founded schools in the Papal Palace”; where his lectures were attended by large audiences, including many

bishops and cardinals. In 1278 he was appointed Archbishop of Canterbury by Nicholas III., in spite of the attempts made by Edward I. to gain the preferment for his chancellor, Robert Burnell, Bishop of Bath and Wells; but was not consecrated till the spring of the following year. He was well received by the king, and showed himself a strong prelate, a determined foe of pluralists, and quite ready to champion the cause of ecclesiastical reform against the king himself, when need arose. Like Thoresby in the following century, he was most assiduous in his endeavours to improve the education and the discipline of the clergy of his province; and to this end mainly, summoned the Council which sat at Lambeth, from the 7th to 10th of October, 1281. He was a man of great personal austerity, "keeping seven Lents in each year." He never lost his affection for the Order of St. Francis, and nearly always styled himself, as in the exordium of his "Constitutiones," in the text, and in the letter which will presently be given,—"Frater Johannes,"—"Friar John." It has been observed that as Wycliffe displays a bias against prelates and friars, so does Peckham against the secular clergy, and this is shown by his Lambeth Canons. But that monks came equally under his lash when they deserved it, is proved by the following extract from his reply to the request of Edward I. that he would consecrate a Cistercian Abbey in Wales:

#### ARCHBISHOP PECKHAM TO KING EDWARD I.

*June 14, 1284 . . .* "And therefore, Sire, altho' I am ready, so far as is in me, to dedicate the place for the Cistercian monks at Meynan, yet I could not do it without the full assent of the bishop and of his chapter, and of the parson of the place, who, with plenty of other people, have a very great horror of the approach of the forsaid monks. For though they may be good men, if God please, still they are the hardest neighbours that prelates and parsons could have. For where they plant their foot, they destroy towns, take away tithes, and curtail by their privileges all the power of prelacy." (Letter DLIV.)<sup>1</sup>

The evil of pluralities was one of the abuses which Peckham most vigorously attacked in the case of the secular clergy. Nor is

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Martin remarks upon this letter: "The avarice of the Cistercians had already been noticed by Richard I., who, when accused of having at home three daughters whom he loved more than the grace of God, viz., Pride, Luxury, and Avarice, replied: 'No, they are no longer at home. My daughter Pride I have married to the Templars, Luxury to the Black Monks, and Avarice to the White Monks.'" (Pref. to Vol. II., *Peckham's Register*, p. lviii.)

this to be wondered at when we read the lists of preferments so frequently held by one person, who, in many cases, had never set his foot in some of the benefices of which he was the incumbent: thus we are told of Aymo de Carto, one of the writer's predecessors in the church of Beverley, that in addition to being Provost of Beverley, he was Precentor of Lyons, Provost of Lausanne, and Rector of Dungarvan in Ireland.

In Peckham's remarkable treatise, *De Oculo Morali*,<sup>1</sup> he remarks “that as you see double if you push the eye out of its place with your finger; so prelates, through evil counsel, judge a priest to be worthy of two benefices, when he ought to be contented with one.” And again, he forcibly condemns the degeneracy of the times:—

“Formerly the Church with its prelates of old time, was golden in wisdom, silver in cleanliness of life, brazen in eloquence, which are three things needful to a preacher; that is, brightness of wisdom, cleanliness of life, and sonorousness of eloquence. But of the feet, the last, that is the modern prelates, part is iron through their hardness of heart, and part is clay by their carnal luxury.”

The Canons of the Council of Lambeth are given by Lyndwood, p. 26. (*Provinciale*, Oxford, 1679.) Peckham's letter of July 30, 1281, to the Bishop of London, ordering him to summon the clergy to the Council of Lambeth, is preserved in his register, and has been printed by Wilkins (*Concilia*, ii. 50), and by Mr. Martin in his interesting volumes in the Rolls series.<sup>2</sup>

Lyndwood, among his *Constitutiones Provinciales*,<sup>3</sup> also gives

<sup>1</sup> V. Martin, Pref. to V. III. lxxxii.

<sup>2</sup> (*Registrum Epistolarum Fratris Joannis Peckham*, Arch. Cant., vol. i. p. 211.)

In the preface to vol. iii., Mr. Martin gives the following list of MSS. of the Constitutions of Lambeth:—

- (1) Harl. MS. 335 ff. 57b.-65b. (xv. cent.)
- (2) Harl. MS. 52 ff. 85-92, B. M. (xiv. cent.)
- (3) Harl. MS. 2349 ff. 71-89b., B. M. (xiv. cent.)
- (4) Harl. MS. 3705 ff. 42-55b. (xv. cent.)
- (5) Lamb. MS. 538 ff. 105-129. This is the MS. referred to by Wilkins as Lamb. MS. 17. (xv. cent.)
- (6) Lamb. MS. 460 ff. 1-119b., gives these Canons ix.-xiii with a lengthy treatise on them by a monk. (xiv. cent.)
- (7) Lamb. MS. 778 ff. 27b. Imperfect.
- (8) Digby MS. 58 ff. 97-111, Bibl. Bodl. (xiv. cent.)
- (9) Tanner MS. 196 ff. 157b-159, Bibl. Bodl. cap. xx-xxiv. (xv. cent., vellum.)
- (10) MS. Selden, *supra* 43; Bibl. Bodl. (xv. cent., vellum.)
- (11) MS. Selden, *supra* 43 ff. 169-176; Bibl. Bodl. (xv. cent., vellum.)
- (12) Hatton MS. 109 (12); Bibl. Bodl., Lambeth, cap. vii. (xiv. cent.), and about 23 others.

<sup>3</sup> *Provinciale*, Oxoniam, 1679, p. 54. Cf. also p. 1, 42; also *Archbishop Arundell*, p. 291; and *Constit. Dom. Oth.*, p. 16.

an ordinance of Peckham, of which the following is the commencement:—

“ *De officio Archipresbyteri. Quilibet sacerdos, curam animarum potissimum gerens, quater in anno dilucide exponat subditis suis Articulos fidei, & praecepta moralia ad salutem necessaria, ut in hoc capitulo summatim recitantur.* ”

Johannes Peecham.

Ignorantia sacerdotum praecepimus ut quilibet sacerdos plebi præsidens . . . . . ”

And then follow the *Constitutions* in very much the same form as that in which they are printed in our text (P.), which consists of the Lambeth Canons, ix—xiii. They run in the name of the Archbishop, who begins by stating his desire to remedy present evils, and his hope to make progress in that direction, by the favour of Christ, and with the assistance of his brethren and bishops. Ignorance on the part of the clergy is the source of error in the people whom they are bound to guide. Therefore he directs that every priest shall explain to his people simply and clearly, four times a year, the Creed, the ten commandments, the two precepts of the Gospel, viz. love to God and man, the seven works of mercy, the seven deadly sins, the seven cardinal virtues, and the seven sacraments of grace. Furthermore, lest any priest should put forward the excuse of ignorance, he (the Archbishop) will explain briefly in what these things consist. And a short and simple exposition of the elements of faith and practice, completes this division of the Canons of the Council of Lambeth.

## II. ARCHBISHOP THORESBY.

We now turn to our Northern primate. John de Thoresby is described by the author of the *Fasti Eboracenses* as “standing in the front rank of that band of worthies of the 14th century, who signalized themselves by their learning and taste. It is with a feeling akin to reverence that I look back upon his many services to his country, his pious zeal, and his open-handed munificence.”

In Archbishop Thoresby’s time the morals, the learning, and the piety of the clergy were at a low ebb.<sup>1</sup> They were held in but little estimation by the laity, with whom they frequently quarrelled and sometimes fought. The churches and churchyards were desecrated

<sup>1</sup> See Gower (*Confessio Amantis*, Prologue); Hoccleve’s *Regement of Princes*, edited by Dr. Furnivall (Early Eng. Text Soc., Extra Series, LXXII., 1897), 1408–1442.

by fairs, feasts, and dances. (Thoresby, Reg., Sep. 9, 1365: cf. Giraldus Cambrensis, *Gemma Ecclesiastica*, 119.) Pluralities existed in abundance, as well as the intrusion of foreign sinecurists into English benefices and posts of dignity by the pope. From 1343 to 1385 the deanery of York was held continuously by his cardinals: and the condition of things at the Minster, when visited by the Archbishop on May 12, 1362, set but a poor example to the diocese. The Archbishop was himself an Oxford scholar of high attainments, and a master of Latin composition, as shown by the many letters still preserved in the second part of the *Register of Archbishop Alexander Neville*. Ralph Thoresby, in his *Vicaria Leodiensis* (p. 185) describes him as the second son of Hugh Thoresby (son of Sir Hugh, the son and heir of Sir Adam Thoresby of Thoresby, Kt.) by Isabel the daughter of Sir Tho. Grose of Suffolk, Kt. He evidently, like his still greater contemporary, Wyclif, belonged to a Yorkshire family of consideration in the North Riding. A Richard de Thoresby, cousin of the Archbishop, was collated to the prebend of St. Andrew, in Beverley Minster, on May 16, 1355; and a John de Thoresby, who became Provost of Beverley in 1373, was also related to the Archbishop, and was one of his executors.

From his reputation at Oxford as a great theologian and Canonist, John Baconsthorp dedicated to Thoresby his Commentary upon the *Ethics of Aristotle*. But his legal ability was probably the secret of his rapid promotion. He was appointed the King's proctor at the court of Rome; and on July 2, 1347, Edward III. made him Keeper of the Great Seal. On September 3, in the same year, he was consecrated Bishop of St. David's. In Warburton's MS. catalogue of the "Names and Arms of the great Princes, Noblemen, and Knyghts who were with the most victorious King Edward III. in his Wars in France and Normandie, during the siege and winning of Calais, Anno 1347," Thoresby is set down fourteenth from the Prince of Wales, and is said to have been followed by a retinue of 1 Banneret, 2 Knyghts, 30 Esquiers, 30 Archers on Horseback, and 36 Archers on foot,—99 in all.

In 1349 he was translated to the see of Worcester, and in the same year he became Lord Chancellor. Shortly afterwards he was made Cardinal of St. Peter ad Vincula.

In October 1352, Thoresby was advanced to the Northern primacy. Henceforth he endeavoured to free himself from political cares, and to give his undivided energies to his ecclesiastical functions.

In 1355, however, he was made one of the regents of the kingdom during the absence of Edward III. on his French campaign. He resigned the office of Lord Chancellor in 1356. He was a great peace-maker. “*Lites et contentiones ubique delevit.*”<sup>1</sup> He it was who brought to an end the long-standing contention between the sees of York and Canterbury as to the right of either metropolitan to bear his cross erect in the province of the other. In this respect he compares favourably with the Southern primate who has just engaged our attention. Peckham, on hearing that his brother of York had returned from abroad, and was intending to pass through his province with his cross erect, wrote a letter (still preserved in his register), forbidding the clergy to show him any mark of respect, ordering them to shut the church-doors in his face, and threatening all persons, clerical and lay, with excommunication, who ventured to supply him with food, or render him the slightest service.

Thoresby has been ranked with Wykeham among the great Church-builders of the 14th century. But he seems to soar far above them all when we are reminded that to him we owe the noble conception of the most vast<sup>2</sup> and stately choir in Christendom; the lofty and magnificent choir of York Minster; surrounded with great windows of ancient glass to which this country presents no parallel; the East window being the finest in the world. In August 1361, the Archbishop began the foundation of the new Choir, and laid the first stone himself. Not only did he earnestly ask for the offerings of the faithful, but he was a munificent contributor to the fabric as long as he lived. Again and again did he give large sums of money (*v. Torre's MSS.* in the Minster Library), and even pulled down his Manor-house at Sherburn that the stone might be used in the new works at the Minster.

But our present concern is rather with his untiring efforts for the edification of the spiritual Church. “*His chief solicitude*” (says Ralph Thoresby in his *Vicaria Leodiensis*, p. 196) “*was for the poor Vicars who had the cure of souls, yet were often too meanly provided for; to remedy which he erected Vicarages in some inappropriate churches, which had been till that time ill-served, and*

<sup>1</sup> *Stubbs, Col.* 1733.

<sup>2</sup> Taking into account height as well as area. A friend who saw the above statement in proof, took exception to the description of Thoresby and Wykeham as “Church-builders.” But I have neither said nor implied that they drew their own plans. They must, however, have had some “conception” of what they wanted, and instructed their architects accordingly, just as most “Church-builders” do now.

augmented others, where he found the endowment too small to afford a competent Maintenance to those that served the Cure."

The *Fasti Eboracenses* draw our attention to the pains taken by Thoresby to increase the number and the efficiency of the clergy. He usually officiated at his ordinations himself, and his lists have been preserved. In the year 1369 he held three special and four general ordinations, at all of which he officiated. The numbers were 306 acolytes, 187 sub-deacons, 163 deacons, and 161 priests. They were to serve, it must be remembered, in an area very much greater than that of the present diocese of York, for it included all Yorkshire, a part of Nottinghamshire, and the portions of Lancashire and Westmoreland comprised in the archdeaconry of Richmond. We must also bear in mind, when comparing these numbers with those of ordinations at the present day, that they included not only parochial clergy, but chantry-priests, and monks, and many canons.

Wilkins (*Concilia*, iii. p. 68) gives the "Constitutions of Archbishop Thoresby," put forth in the same year as the Catechism (1357), and designed to check various abuses, both among the clergy and laity.

In his anxiety to amend the ignorance and neglect of the parish-priests, and the consequent godlessness of their flocks, the Archbishop put forth the Catechism printed in this volume. It was issued both in Latin and in English,—the latter of the simplest character, so as to be understood by the most uncultured of the laity. Both versions were dated from his manor of Cawood, on November 25, 1357. The step was evidently suggested by the action of Peckham, seventy-six years before. Following the example of the Southern Archbishop at the Council of Lambeth, Thoresby gained for his Catechism the approval of the Council or Convocation of York. Both primates doubtless knew that their action would come with added authority from the whole Church of each province; and also that by thus taking their clergy into confidence, they would ensure their sympathy and co-operation. How closely the Catechism, in its original Latin form, was framed on Peckham's model, our readers may easily see by comparing the two texts (C.) and (P.). The exordium upon the carelessness and ignorance of the clergy, and the Archbishop's hope of reformation with the approval and assistance of his sacred Council, though more gently worded than that of the earlier *Constitutions*, is to the same effect. So is the ordinance which follows: the clergy are simply to expound the Creed, the

Commandments, and the same additional “fundamentals” of faith and practice: and to remove the excuse of ignorance, a similarly brief and clear explanation is given.

To show the close correspondence of the two texts, not only in substance, but in phraseology, it may be worth while to print the following sentences side by side:—

C., l. 26, p. 22. Et ne quis      P., l. 23, p. 23. Et ne quis  
super hiis per ignorantiam se a predictis per ignorantiam se  
valeat excusare, haec sub verbis excuset, quæ tamen omnes mini-  
planis et incultis, ut sic levius stri Ecclesiae scire tenentur, ea  
in publicam deducantur notitiam, perstringimus summaria brevitate.  
fecimus annotare.

Thoresby demanded more frequent instruction from his clergy than Peckham did; and “at least on the Lord’s Day” takes the place of the “four times a year, on one or more holy-days,” of the Lambeth Canons.

Henry Wharton, in his criticism of Burnet’s *History of the Reformation*, when insisting on the frequency of sermons before the Reformation, adduces this injunction of Archbishop Thoresby: “The Practice (of preaching) seemeth not to have been unfrequent long before this time, and in some places to have been commanded to all the Parish-Priests. For in the Constitutions of John de Thoresby, Archbishop of York, made about the year 1360, I found a Command to all the Parochial Clergy to preach frequently to their People, and explain to them the Articles of the Faith in the *English Tongue*; and an Exhortation directed to the People, *to here Goddys Service every Soneday with Reverence and Devocioun, and seye devoutly thy Pater-Noster, &c., and here Goddys Lawe taught in thy Modyr Tonge. For that is bettyr than to here many Massys.*”<sup>1</sup>

Here, possibly, the critic may have fallen into error himself; for the latter exhortation is from the Wycliffite version. The same remark applies to his note appended to Archbishop Ussher’s *Historia Dogmatica* (pp. 430, 431; London 1689). “Thoresbeio in hâc sententiâ præivit Robertus Pullenus, Cardinalis; cuius insigne testi-  
monium antea omissum, hîc loci apponam. Sic igitur ille in Sermone  
16, MS. *Sunt nonnulli omnium, quos terra sustinet, miserrimi;* *qui nec boni in se aliquid habent; et cum in aliis audierint vel*  
*viderint, non diligunt, sed invident: Et eos quos ad divinam lectionem*

<sup>1</sup> *Specimen of Errors in Bishop Gilbert Burnet’s History of the Reformation*, by Anthony Harmer (pseudonym for Henry Wharton); London, 1693: *Pars Prima*, pp. 56, 57.

*vel prædicationem proficiisci cognoverint, à bono proposito virulentis dissuasionibus, quantum in ipsis est, revocant.*" (Robert Pullen, c. 1140 : from his MS. Sermons in the Lambeth Library.)

The English version of Thoresby's Instruction, or "Lay Folks' Catechism," is in rude verse ; and was translated from the Latin by John de Taystek, a monk of St. Mary's Abbey at York : it was enrolled in the Archbishop's official Register, from which the text (T.) in this volume is reproduced : and the original Latin version (C.) is derived from the same source. It was approved by the Council or Convocation of the clergy of the Diocese and Province of York in 1357. There is a copy in MSS. Harl. 1022, 74-80, at the end of which there is the following note :—"Transumpta erat ista prædicatione a lingua Latina in nostram maternam linguam de mandato domini Johannis de Thoresby, Ebor. Archiep., per venerabilem et discretum virum Johannem de Taystek, monachum monasterii beatæ Mariae Ebor., anno Domini millesimo trescentesimo quinquagesimo septimo."

The translation is really a very wide expansion of the original text : evidently for the sake of fuller explanation and clearer understanding by the lay-folk. Here again, the procedure is on the lines of the Council of Lambeth. The "Quatuor Sermones" in the "Festyval" were prepared for those who had the cure of souls in the Southern Province, as required by the Constitutions of Archbishop Peckham. They begin in the same way as the York Catechism, with the quotation from the "Master of the Sentences," and resemble it in many other points. It is also noteworthy that the English translator, in treating of the Seven Deadly Sins, follows the order of Peckham's Constitutions, instead of that of the authorized Latin version of the York Convocation : putting Gluttony fourth, and Sloth sixth, instead of the reverse.

Thoresby was evidently anxious that his catechism should be as widely disseminated among the lay-folk as possible, and doubtless this was the reason why he instructed Taystek to cast his translation into the form of verse (unpoetical though it be, and almost devoid of rhymes)—the more easily to be committed to memory. The late Canon Raine hazarded an interesting and ingenious conjecture as to whether he had it performed in the shape of miracle-plays : and in this way introduced these curious representations into the North of England.

It is certain that dogma, as well as history, was illustrated by miracle-plays, strange though it may appear. The text of the Crede or Belief play once acted in York, Dr. Raine thinks, may one day be discovered to have been Archbishop Thoresby's "Instruction." In *Test. Ebor.*, ii. 117, William Revetour of York, Chaplain, bequeathes "fraternitati Corporis Christi in Eboraco quemdam librum vocatum le Credo play, cum libris et vexillis eidem pertinentibus." In the library of the Earl of Ashburnham there was "A poem on the Trinity by William of Nassington, a proctor or advocate in the ecclesiastical court of York." Canon Raine conjectures that its date is about a century earlier than that assigned to it, viz. 1480, and that Nassington may have assisted Thoresby in his religious work. A fifteenth century writer (*v. Dibdin's Typogr. Ant.*, iii. 257) states that

"Sir William Thorsby, archebishop of York, did do drawe a treatise in Englyshe by a worshipful clerk whose name was Garryk. In the which were conteyned the artycles of belefe, the vij dedly sines, the vij workes of marcy, the x comaundementes; and sent them in small pagyantes to the common people to learne it and to knowe it, of whiche yet manye a copye be in England."

Dr. Shirley quotes a similar statement from a MS. in the library of Trinity College, Cambridge:—

"Sire Wiliam Thorisby, erchebishop of 3ork, did do to drawe a tretys in Englisee be a worschipful clerk wos name was Gaytrik, in þe wiche weren conteyned þe articulis of þe feiþ, seuene dedli synnes, þe werkes of mercy and þe ten comandements, and sente hem in smale pagynes to þe comyn puple."—MS. B. 14, 50, *Trin. Coll. Camb.* (*Fasc. Ziz.*, ed. Shirley, p. xiii, note.)

Now this word "pagyantes or pagynes" is the term applied to the miracle-plays; and Canon Raine thinks that Thoresby may have "pressed these instructive yet somewhat profane representations into his service, to arrest the attention of the wayfarers in the streets, and please the eyes and ears of the unlettered crowd" (*Fasti Ebor.* I. 470).

But though Thoresby may have made use of miracle-plays in the furtherance of his scheme of popular instruction, yet their first introduction into York would probably date some three-quarters of a century before the putting forth of the *Lay-Folks' Catechism*. The festival of Corpus Christi was instituted by Urban IV. about the year 1263, and observed annually on the Thursday after Trin'

Sunday. The festival was confirmed, according to the Chronicle of Sprott, in the year 1318.<sup>1</sup>

Mr. A. F. Leach has transcribed the Foundation Ordinances of the Corpus Christi Guild of Beverley, *circa* 1330, in a paper read before the Society of Antiquaries, March 8, 1894, in which he remarks that this Guild appears to have been one of the earliest in England,<sup>2</sup> and that the pageants and plays which developed out of the procession in honour of the sacrament, were nowhere carried to a more gorgeous length than in Beverley. No small part of a large quarto volume of *Town Ordinances of Beverley* is taken up with regulations as to the order and duties of the various craft guilds, under the rule of the Corpus Christi Guild, in the celebration of the Feast of Corpus Christi. The Paternoster Play at Beverley was more like Thoresby's Instruction than the Corpus Christi Play, but did not originate till somewhat later than his time. On May 29, 1469, eighteen crafts of the town agreed to perform this play on Sunday, August 1: the scenes were entitled "Pryde: Invy: Ire: Avaryce: Sleweth: Glotony: Luxurie: Vicious." The earliest mention of a public play in Beverley is in the first quarter of the thirteenth century. (*Historians of the Church of York*, Rolls Series, No. 71, I. 328. See also Mr. A. F. Leach's contribution to the Furnivall Celebration Volume, on "*Some English Plays and Players*," Clarendon Press, 1900.)

In 1313, Edward II. and Queen Isabella were present at a magnificent series of dramatic spectacles of this character in Paris, given by Philip the Fair. Although, as we learn from the researches of Drake (*Eboracum*, p. 230), no notice can be found in the record of the York Corporation relating to the Corpus Christi Festival earlier than May 8, 1388, when "William de Selby, then Mayor, delivered to Stephen de Yolton, 100 shillings, which Master Thomas de Bukton had given for furnishing four torches to be burnt in the procession on the Feast of Corpus Christi," yet in 1394, an order was made that "all the pageants of Corpus Christi should play in the places *antiently appointed*, and not elsewhere, etc.," from which it would appear that the custom was of long standing at that time. In 1397 King Richard II. was present at the festival in York, and it was celebrated with great splendour. The stage was a structure sup-

<sup>1</sup> *Thomae Sprotti Chronica*, p. 77.

<sup>2</sup> The C. C. Guild at Lincoln was founded in 1350; that at Hull 1358; that at York 1408.

ported on wheels, and the name of pageant was certainly sometimes applied to it; it must have strongly resembled the “pegma” used for a similar purpose in the Roman amphitheatre. The Corpus Christi Guild in York was founded in 1408, but not incorporated till the 37th year of Henry VI. Interesting particulars of these Miracle-plays in York are given in the Appendix to Drake's *Eboracum*, xxix. (London 1736).

There is in the Minster Library at York an old English MS. not much later than Thoresby's time, and covering much the same ground as the *Lay Folks' Catechism*, as may be seen from its preamble:—

“Here bigynneth ye ten commaundementis. Of feith, hope, and charite. The Paternoster. The Ave Marie. The Crede. The werkis of bodili mercy. The werkis of gostly mercy.”

In the following letter, it has been supposed that Thoresby refers to the monk of St. Mary's Abbey, Taystek, or Tavistock, who had been rendering the Catechism into English. The supposition appears to lack foundation. But the letter is so graceful in itself, that it may fitly close our notice of the great Archbishop.

*Archiepiscopus significat abbatii Ebor. qualiter monachus suus jam reddit ad monasterium.*

Salutem, etc. Venit ad nos, quasi columba suam rediens ad fenestram, confrater vester frater J. de G., commensalis noster carissimus, qui jam in preterito festo Nativitatis Dominicæ nedum Divini verbi pabulo sed gestus honesti modestia tam salubriter quam laudabiliter nos refecit, quem nostri consideratione habere velitis propensius commendatum. Sibi fraternæ caritatis dulcedinem et spiritu-alioris communionis habundantiam petimus, impendentes per quod nos ad votiva vestra inveniri volumus pro tempore promptiores. Et quia quidam, ut dicitur, murmurant contra eum, fingentes eum quædam sinistra nobis contra vestrum aliquos prædicasse et correctiones in capitulo vestro fieri procurasse, ipsum ab impositis hujus modi sub verbo veritatis plenius excusamus, quia revera super hoc totaliter est immunis, et ideo nullus vestrum sibi improperet ex hac causa. Circa vero principium quadragesimæ ipsum libenter habemus, nobis ad magnum nostrum solatium assistentem, quem ad hoc licenciare velitis cum scripserimus pro eodem. Feliciter in Domino valeatis.

### III. JOHN DE WYCLIF AND THE WYCLIFFITE ADAPTATION.

The text L. in this volume is probably from the hand of the reformer himself. It seems unnecessary to give any lengthy account of Wyclif in this place; for, not to mention sources of information

such as the very full memoirs of Dr. Lechler, two excellent critical summaries of his life and work have been prefixed, the one by the late Dr. Shirley to his edition of the *Fasciculi Zizaniorum*, and the other by Mr. Matthew to his *English Works of Wyclif hitherto Unprinted* (Early English Text Society, 1880). And yet we may safely assert that, even now, there are very few students of English history who have any idea how great a man he really was:—"second to none in philosophy, and without a peer in the learning of the schools,"—to quote an unfriendly chronicler.<sup>1</sup> In fact, as Dr. Shirley observes:—

"No friendly hand has left us any, even the slightest, memorial of the life and death of the great reformer. A spare, frail, emaciated frame, a quick temper, a conversation 'most innocent, the charm of every rank'; such are the scanty, but significant fragments we glean of the personal portraiture of one who possessed, as few ever did, the qualities which give men power over their fellows. His enemies ascribed it to the magic of an ascetic habit: the fact remains engraven upon every line of his life."

"To the memory of one of the greatest of Englishmen his country has been singularly and painfully ungrateful. . . . Of his works, the greatest, 'one of the most thoughtful of the middle ages,' has been printed twice abroad, in England never. Of his original English works, nothing beyond one or two short tracts has seen the light. . . .<sup>2</sup> If considered only as the father of English prose, the great reformer might claim more reverential treatment at our hands. It is not by his translation of the Bible, remarkable as that work is, that Wyclif can be judged as a writer. It is in his original tracts that the exquisite pathos, the keen, delicate irony, the manly passion of his short, nervous sentences, fairly overmasters the weakness of the unformed language, and gives us English which cannot be read without a feeling of its beauty to this hour."

"It certainly is little known," continues the same writer (Introduction to *Fasc. Ziz.*, xl.), "that Wyclif was the founder of a new order, anticipating in its combination of the regular with the secular element, something of the views of Ignatius Loyola, but in its practical aspect bearing a nearer resemblance to the lay-preachers of John Wesley, such as they were while his strong hand was yet upon them. To be poor without mendicancy, to combine the flexible unity, the swift obedience of an order, with free and constant mingling among the poor, such was the ideal of Wyclif's 'simple priests.' Their coarseness and ignorance, their long russet dress

<sup>1</sup> Knighton, 26. 44.

<sup>2</sup> This was written in 1858. Arnold's *Select English Works of Wyclif* was published in 1869; Matthew's *English Works of Wyclif* in 1880. The Wyclif Society has also for the last nineteen years published yearly one or two volumes of the Reformer's works.

down to the heels, moved the laughter or the wrath of their contemporaries ; but, such as they were, they were employed, under episcopal sanction, through what was then the immense diocese of Lincoln, and probably in others also."

The following early notice of the Reformer, cited by Dr. Shirley, will be fitly inserted here :—

" Magister Joannes Wiclevus habebatur a multis omnium ætate sua viventium sanctissimus. Et cum hoc erat corpore macilentus, extenuatus, ac viribus pæne exhaustus, conversationeque innocensissimus. Propterea quamplures hujus regni proceres cum eo sæpius conferentes, eum dulciter amabant, illius dicta scribebant, atque eidem vita inhærebant." (From William Thorpe's *Examination*—Bale, Bodl. MS. E. Mus. 86, fol. 100, r<sup>o</sup> a.)

Foxe gives the original of the first sentence as " Maister John Wickliffe was holden of full mainie men the greatest clearke that they knew then living, and therewith he was named a passing rulie man and an innocent in his living."

We now come to an important question touching the origin of the Wycliffite adaptation of Archbishop Thoresby's Catechism. Was it a forgery, as Canon Simmons appears to have thought,—interpolating in the Archbishop's work, and in the Archbishop's name, sentiments which he would have repudiated? Or was it put forth with the knowledge, the consent, possibly the co-operation of Thoresby himself? The latter would have been the only honourable course, and we conceive it to be the only true explanation, for the following reasons :—

a. The version appears, as we have said, to have been the work of Wyclif himself. Not to mention the stress laid therein on the importance of preaching (L. 47, 48, 57) and many smaller characteristic touches, peculiar words, etc., which have been pointed out in the notes appended to this volume, there are whole passages which are almost verbally identical with portions of the Reformer's tracts ; such as the treatises on the Paternoster (L. 59–161 ; see note), and the Ave Maria (L. 162–222 ; see note). The right of parishioners to withdraw their tithes from parsons who fail to perform their duty, is another case in point (L. 688–691 ; see note) ; so is the remark upon rich priests (L. 802 ; see note).

Canon Simmons himself ascribes this work to Wyclif, and has left a note in which he says that the Reformer had the opportunity of becoming acquainted with the Northern Catechism when he was Rector of Fillingham, in the adjoining county of Lincoln ; a benefice

which he held for several years after the Archbishop had put it forth. "We find in the course of it distinct references to several of the 'heresies' which Wyclif is charged<sup>1</sup> with having propounded before he had taken his degree as Doctor of Divinity.<sup>2</sup> And both before that time, while still a Master of Arts, and for some time afterwards, his principal opponent was Cunningham, a Carmelite or White Friar, who subsequently became Provincial of that order in this country, and Confessor of John of Gaunt. At this time Wyclif's efforts seem to have been more in the direction of the reform of ecclesiastical abuses and the amendment of life, than in attacking doctrinal errors; notwithstanding that he had already rendered himself obnoxious to the maintainers of received doctrine, by his statements as to grace, and the exclusion of the foreknown from present membership of the Church on earth; and more especially, although this was not alleged against him, he had begun to realize the paramount authority of Holy Scripture—a discovery destined to be so important in its consequences. I venture to assume (continues Canon Simmons) that the date of L. may be taken to be at this time, and before Wyclif was involved in political movements, and associated with the anti-clerical schemes of John of Gaunt (or, rather the opposition of that prince to the political power of the clergy). It has been assumed by some writers that Wyclif's hostility to the friars cannot be held to have commenced before the time when he came into collision with them over the controversy as to the nature of the Real Presence in the Holy Eucharist. But it must not be lost sight of that Wyclif, as a secular priest and head of a secular college, can hardly have escaped the influence of the party-antagonism existing at Oxford between the secular members of the University, whether laymen or clerics, on the one side, and the 'Religious' or 'Regulars' on the other; more especially the friars. This conflict may have tended to prejudice him against the mendicant orders, even if his dislike to them had not been increased by the fact, that they had fallen away from the zeal which had animated them when first introduced into this country; and, whilst they professed that apostolical poverty which was his ideal of the clerical life, they had become even more greedy than the monks, who, from their possession of endowments, were not so open to this temptation."

<sup>1</sup> *Fasc. Ziz.* 2, 3.

<sup>2</sup> In the year 1365 or 1366. He was not D.D. when made Master of Canterbury Hall in 1365.

For these reasons we may assume Wyclif himself to have been the author of our text L. But the notion that Thoresby's approval of it can have been forged appears to us entirely inconsistent with the manly and noble spirit of the great Reformer. Moreover, it was put forth altogether too soon for a forgery to have the slightest chance of success. So impudent an attempt must have recoiled upon the head of its author, and covered his cause with infamy.

b. It may put us on the right scent, while we are investigating this question, to remember that in the Northern Primate and the Oxford Reformer we have two great contemporary Yorkshiremen, both natives of the North Riding, possibly kinsmen (as Canon Raine has suggested); both longing to see a reformation in the lives and manners of the clergy, though it is possible that one may have been in advance of the other in his aims for the purification of religion. Various points of contact between the Archbishop and the family of Wyclif have been brought to light.

Thus, it appears from the Register of the See of York, that in the year 1350-1, at Pentecost, John, son of Symon de Wyyclif, was ordained deacon in St. Mary's Abbey at York, and priest in York Minster on the Saturday after St. Matthew's Day, 1351. His title was had from Eggleston Abbey, which is less than three miles from the village of Wycliffe. On August 5, 1365, Archbishop Thoresby granted a licence of non-residence for two years to William Wyclif, Rector of Wycliffe, to enable him to study. This is, doubtless, the William de Wyycliffe, who in 1361 was one of the fellows of Balliol, whilst John de Wyclif was master; and as Canon Raine observes, the licence of non-residence was in all probability to allow him to return to Oxford. He was instituted August 7, 1363, on the presentation of John de Wyycliffe, to the rectory of Wycliffe in Yorkshire (MS. Harl. 6978, 1, 2).

When we turn to Ralph Thoresby's account of his great collateral ancestor, the connection becomes closer still: for the historian not only represents the Archbishop as having been actively engaged, like Wyclif, in controversy with the Mendicant Friars, but declares him to have been a close friend of the Reformer himself.

In behalf of the poor vicars in his diocese, who had the cure of souls,<sup>1</sup>

“He that was so great a lover of peace (Archbishop Thoresby) was engaged in controversy with the Friars Mendicants, against whom he wrote,

<sup>1</sup> Ralph Thoresby, *Vic. Leod.* 196.

Processum quendam,	Lib. 1. Pridem Sanctissimus.
Pro docendis Laicis,	Lib. 1. Attendite popule.
Ad Ecclesiarum Pastores,	Lib. 1.

“But what I take to be the Glory of his Age was his English Exposition of the Ten Commandments, Lord’s Prayer, Creed, Sacraments, etc., which he commanded all the Clergy to read diligently unto their Parishioners.”

And on p. 198 he speaks of him as “This learned Archbishop (whose only reputed fault was his favour to his Countryman Wickliffe the famous Reformer, amongst whose Friends he is justly named the first).”<sup>1</sup>

The passage alluded to by Ralph Thoresby is the following:—  
 “Hac autem tempestate partium nostrarum adjutorem sese exhibuit haud imbellem *Johannes Wickliffus* (sic), cui annumerandi *Johannes Toresbius, Uthredus Boltonus, de quo supra, p. 65, col. 1, Nicholaus Herefordus, Gualterus Brytus, Philippus Norrisius*, aliique haud infrequentes, qui Fratrum argumenta, magno eruditorum plausu convellebant. Sub hæc vero præcipua disputationum materia erat *Paupertas Christi*, quam *Rogerus Conwayus Minorita* in Concione Londini nuper habitæ, talem fuisse contendebat,<sup>2</sup> ut neque ipse neque Apostolorum aliquis quicquam sibi suo nomine vindicarit, verum omnia illi communi quodam jure possederint.”<sup>3</sup>

The following is the text of the passage as it occurs in Gutch’s edition of 1792 from Wood’s original English MS. (p. 475):—

“But as the University had educated champions to deal with them (the Mendicant Friars), viz. Robert Grosstest, Sewallus, Archbishop of York, John Baconsthorpe, Richard Chillington and others, so now was John Wycliffe ready to succeed in vindicating the quarrel. After him followed John Toresbie, Uthred Bolton, Nicholas Hereford, Walter Bryte, Philip Noreys, with several others, who, with great applause, equalled, if not went beyond, them in their responses.”

We can, indeed, scarcely wonder if Thoresby came under the sway of that magic influence which Wyclif exerted upon all who knew him. Friends, neighbours, in early youth, kinsmen possibly, Thoresby being somewhat the older of the two, their intercourse must have been renewed at Oxford, where they both became distinguished scholars. In after years they must often have met about the Court, and when Thoresby became Archbishop of York, the Northern seat of the family of Wyclif was situated in his diocese.

<sup>1</sup> Wood’s *Hist. et Antiq. Univ. Oxon.*, p. 181.

<sup>2</sup> Gulielmus Read de Vitis Pontificum MS., fol. 22.

<sup>3</sup> *Hist. et Antiq. Univ. Oxon.*, Ant. Wood, Oxonii, 1674.

A petition has recently been discovered in the archives of the Vatican, from the Chancellor and Congregation of Masters of the University of Oxford to the Pope, praying for a grace granting to John de Wyclif *of the diocese of York*, M.A., a canonry and prebend of York Cathedral, notwithstanding that he has the Church of Fillingham, in the diocese of Lincoln, value 30 marks. (Petitions to the Pope, vol. i., Stationery Office, 1896.) It seems evident from this petition, that Thoresby had, by this time (1362), found the Reformer of use in his diocese, and wished to reward him with a canonry.

Having much in common in their views and aims, they may have become closely associated in the work of reform. Possibly Wyclif's persuasion that "prelates ought not to be secular lords" may have had something to do with the fact which remains on record that the Archbishop who accompanied the king into France with a retinue of one hundred armed followers, sought in after years to dissociate himself from all secular distractions and cares of state, and to devote himself entirely to the spiritual oversight of his vast diocese and province. The frequent quotation from Holy Scripture, which abounds in the original version of Thoresby's Catechism, may be another sign that Wyclif's influence was at work. It is true that many mediaeval treatises quote Scripture; but the reference to it, or to God's law, as of paramount authority, and the essential difference between it and the teaching of the Church, or the witness of tradition, obvious as these things appear to modern theologians, were distinctive of Wyclif's tenets at the time he wrote. Canon Simmons has observed that in the theological literature of that period we find sayings attributed to Our Lord and "other doctors," Canons of Councils, extracts, true or false, from the Fathers, and decrees of Popes, early or recent, genuine or forged,—all cited promiscuously as authorities, apparently without any sense of their different value, and certainly without any attempt at critical examination.

We are, therefore, on all these grounds, fully persuaded that Wyclif asked for and obtained the consent of the Archbishop, at the very least, if not his assistance, in his amplification of the *Lay Folks' Catechism*. There are some passages, doubtless, to which we can scarcely imagine that Thoresby would have given the sanction of his name, such as the stern condemnation of unfaithful prelates: but it was an age of very plain speaking; and the passages may have been strengthened by later copyists.

But a great deal of this, it will be said, is merely conjectural. Be

it so. In this question very much must for ever remain conjectural. But the theory for which I have been contending has at least this merit,—that it does not charge the memory of one of the greatest and best of Englishmen with the commission of a foolish and disgraceful fraud.

## § 2. ON THE DIFFERENCES IN DIALECT BETWEEN THE VERSIONS OF THORESBY AND WYCLIF.

The first thing which strikes us when we come to compare the two versions, is that T. is much more like modern English than L. The reason of this is that the former is essentially a Northern dialect, whereas Wyclif, though originally a native of the North Riding, had lived so long in Oxford, in Leicestershire, and in Lincolnshire, that his writings partake rather of the Midland character. In his translation of the Bible, it is true, there is much to remind us of the dialect of the North Riding at the present day. Canon Raine observes that his father was born within a mile of the village of Wycliffe, and that he had often heard him say that at the beginning of the present century the dialect of the neighbourhood was so identical with the language of the reformer's version of the New Testament, that he would undertake to read any chapter of it to an old person, and it would be understood thoroughly, with the exception perhaps of a word or two. (*Fasti*, i. 462.)

But comparison of these two texts will be found to illustrate the fact that “in the north the inflexions of the older language were as a rule early cast aside, whilst they continued to characterize the southern dialects to a later period. Works written in the north, though of an earlier date, are more like the common English of modern times.” The following list of words as they are found in T. and L. respectively will speak for itself:—(the numbers refer to the lines in the former):—

T.	L.
1 shewes	schewys
„ bokes	bokys
9 lastes	lastys
3 creatures <sup>1</sup>	creaturis
23 misdede	mysdedys
3 heuen	heuyn
88 third	thrydde

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Morris observes that *es* in the plural is a test by which Northumbrian may be distinguished from other Northern dialects.

T.	L.
121 maiden	maydyn
108 sondred	sundryd
117 wel	ywyl
" angels	angelys
5 skill	skyle
17 made in	mad yn
23 wickednesse	wykkydnesse
166 rightwisenesse	ryȝtwysnesse
27 world	werld
" first	furst
28 techyng	wyssyng

On the other hand we have the Northern clinging to *a*, where in the Midlands we find *o*; just as Mr. Oliphant says:—"In the North the Active Participle ended in *ande*, the Norse form. In the Midlands it became *ende*, the Old English form; though in Lincolnshire and East Anglia this was often supplanted by the Danish *ande*."

T.	L.
29 lare	lore
8 thas	þo
15 thai	þey
11 knawing	knowynge
78 swa	so
19 hali saules	holy sowlis
287 hali Gast	holy gost
29 hali kirke	holy chyrche
,, langes till	longys at
422 wrang	wrong
106 awe	owe
155 anely	only
152 ras	roos
161 bathe	bothe
436 faes	foys
451 slauth	slewþe

We find in T. many peculiar Yorkshire words, some of which have not yet become obsolete; thus (l. 150) *whikend* (L. *qwyknyd*): "It's wick;" "full of little wicks" ("It's alive;" "full of little live things") are still common expressions. *Methe* or *methefulnessse* (T. 440, L. *mesure*,—*i. e.* temperance): *whilk* (T. 170, L. *whiche*): *ilkman* (T. 423: L. *eche man*). In *owen* (T. 164, L. *owne*) we have a mode of pronunciation which still survives in *quite*, usually pronounced *quiet* in Yorkshire: also in *dede* (T. 108, L. *dep*) we recognize the still familiar "deadbell," "frightened to dead." In T. 138 we have *doluen*—(buried by digging), where L. has *leyde on a*

*toumbe.* In the same line we have a still common Yorkshire pronunciation : *tane doune*, where L. has *takyn doun*. In T. 153 we have *stegh* (L. *stey*), i. e. *ascended*. In Yorkshire a ladder is generally called a *stee* : and in the *ligges* for *lies* of T. 358 we have another common word. It is interesting to observe that in T. 258, the *gospel* of L. is spelt *godspel*.

### § 3. ON THE HISTORY OF CATECHETICAL TEACHING.

Although, in modern parlance, the “Instruction” of Archbishop Thoresby may very fitly be termed *The Lay Folks’ Catechism*, yet it must be owned that such a name would never have been given to it in his day, nor for long afterwards. The word ‘Catechism’ is now commonly applied to a book or treatise upon the chief points of Christian faith and practice ; especially when intended, as was Archbishop Thoresby’s tract, “to serve as a basis for the oral instruction of the young and ignorant by question and answer.” But, before the time of Luther, the word never meant a book, but actual verbal teaching by question and answer ; eliciting an “echo” or reply ; as Bishop Andrews quaintly remarks in his *Introduction to Pattern of Catechetical Doctrine* :—“In κατηχέω is included an iteration, and from ἡχέω we have our word *echo*. Ἡχέω is indeed ‘to sound the last syllable,’ and of such sounders haply there are enough ; but κατηχέω is ‘to sound in the whole, after one, again.’ And such is the repetition which is required of the right and true κατηχοῦμενοι, young catechized Christians, and those places are called κατηχεῖς, that give the whole verse or word again.”

In the Early Church, however, the instruction was given in the form of a lecture, and the questions were asked by the catechumens rather than by the teacher ; and the method was probably derived from the custom of the Jewish Rabbis : the Child Jesus was found “in the midst of the doctors, both hearing them and asking them questions” (St. Luke ii. 46).

We have preserved a set of Catechetical Lectures delivered in Jerusalem by St. Cyril about A.D. 347 : just as Bishop Charles Wordsworth entitled his little book of instruction for Confirmation candidates ‘Catechesis,’ not ‘Catechism.’

Irenæus, Tertullian and St. Augustine use the word ‘catechise’ for instructing in Christianity. The work of the latter, *De catechizandis rudibus* (written about A.D. 400) is not a catechism for children, nor an explanation of the chief articles of the faith. The

‘rudes’ are those who are entirely ignorant of Christianity; and the teachers are directed how they may best win them over to the religion of Christ. In St. Augustine’s *De Fide et Operibus* (*Op. IV.*, col. 67) we find the word *Catechism*, not in the least in the sense of a book, but in its proper meaning of detailed oral instruction. He is speaking of St. John the Baptist, who, being asked “What shall we do?” by the multitudes who came out to him, gave them special answers according to their circumstances, and continues:—

“His breviter commemoratis, Evangelista, non enim totos catechismos inserere debuit, satis significavit pertinere ad eum, a quo baptizatus catechizatur, docere et monere de moribus.”

Dr. Geffchen, in his work upon *The Illustrated Catechisms of the Fifteenth Century*,<sup>1</sup> gives it as his opinion that this passage may have caused Luther to stamp this word with the meaning which henceforth became its usual one. The great German Reformer felt the need of a theological handbook at an early stage of his work, and put forth from time to time isolated treatises on the Lord’s Prayer, the Ten Commandments, the Creed, the Lord’s Supper, etc. But it was not until he had been engaged in this work for eight years that he applied to it the name of *Catechism*.<sup>2</sup>

Having said thus much upon the title of our work, we may now go on to observe, that catechetical instruction has occupied the foremost place in the scholastic methods of the moral and religious teachers of all countries and of all ages. The practice of the Greek philosophers will occur to every scholar:—

‘Ημεῖς δὲ ἐκ τῆς παιδικῆς κατηχήσεως περινοῦμεν μάλλον ἐν τοῖς πλείστοις, η̄ νοοῦμεν.—Porphyrius, ‘Ομητικῶν ζητημάτων.

The same mode of teaching was prescribed by the law of Moses (*Deut. vi. 6, 7, 20*; *Ex. xii. 26*, etc.). Here we have enjoined the earliest form of catechetical instruction, viz. “*Catechisatio Domestica*,” conducted by the heads of families for the benefit of their children and servants. But the Jews also practised the other two

<sup>1</sup> Leipzig, T. O. Weigel, 1855.

<sup>2</sup> He appears first to have made this use of the word in his letters to Nic. Hausmann at Zwickau:—

Feb. 2, 1525. *Jona et Islebio mandatus est catechismus.*

March 26. *Catechismus, ut antea dixi, mandatus est suis autoribus.*

Sept. 27. *Catechismum differo, vellem enim uno opere omnia dissolvere.*

The word ‘Catechism’ had also, especially in the fifteenth century, another signification; viz. that of sponsorship—from the questioning or catechising of the sponsors, which was a necessary preliminary to baptism.

forms of catechising; “Catechisatio Scholastica” by preceptors in schools; and “Catechisatio Ecclesiastica,” by priests and Levites in Temple and in synagogue. We may note the instruction given by Levites under the Judges and Kings (*e. g.* 2 Chron. xvii. 7, 8, 9), as well as the “Schools of the Prophets” established by Samuel, who may be regarded as the originator of theological colleges and universities, and to whose students we owe, with the exception of the Pentateuch, nearly the whole of the Old Testament.

Catechetical teaching occupied a prominent position in the admission of proselytes. They were first carefully examined as to their motives for wishing to adopt the Jewish faith. If the result were satisfactory, they were instructed in the principal articles of the Hebrew Creed—the one God, the sin of idolatry, the reward of obedience, the privileges of Israel, the future life, etc. On their acceptance of this creed, they were circumcised, and soon afterwards baptized with their families in the presence of three witnesses, who went on with their instruction while the neophytes stood in the water. (*Maimonides*, Lightfoot, c. 3, v. 6; *Matthew*, f. m. 265, 266 *seq.*; *Lundius*, l. c., p. 1374.)

Jewish children, on reaching the age of twelve years, underwent a course of catechetical instruction, after which they were regarded as personally responsible for their observance of the law, and were termed “Sons of the Precept”; the institution strongly resembling that of Confirmation in the Christian Church.

The Great Teacher continually adopted this mode of instruction:—

“Whom say ye that I am?”

“Whose is this image and superscription?”

“What is written in the law?”

“Which now of these three, thinkest thou, was neighbour . . .?”

“If then, the Christ be David’s Lord, how is He his Son?”

“The baptism of John, was it from heaven, or of men?”

The earliest mention of catechising in the Christian Church occurs in St. Luke i. 4, where the Evangelist declares that he has written this narrative for Theophilus, “*ἵνα ἐπιγνῷς περὶ ὧν κατηχήθης λόγων τὴν ἀσφάλειαν.*”

Concerning the practice of the Apostles, we have the assertion of the learned Cornelius à Lapide, “*Apostolorum conciones ferè tantum catecheses.*” St. Paul wished to speak in a known tongue, “*“Ια καὶ ἄλλους κατήχησω”* (1 Cor. xiv. 19). In Acts viii. 37 we have the first Apostolic Symbolum.

It is probable that there were specially appointed Catechists in the primitive Church (see Eph. iv. 11; 1 Cor. xii. 5, 28; Heb. v. 12, 13, 14; vi. 1, 2). Clemens Romanus won over Theodora and Sisinnius, her husband, to the Christian faith by catechetical instruction. Jerome<sup>1</sup> reports the Evangelist St. Mark to have been the founder of the renowned Catechetical School of Alexandria, which still flourished in the time of Eusebius. In the 3rd century, Pantænus, Clemens Alexandrinus (who left a set of catechetical lectures called *Pædagogus*), and Origen, successively catechized at Alexandria.

The first well-known teacher of this school was Athenagoras, an Athenian by birth, who lived in the time of the emperors Hadrian and Antoninus. He undertook to write a treatise against the Christian religion, and to this end carefully read the Holy Scriptures. The result was, that from an intending assailant, he became a powerful defender of the Faith, and the head of both the Philosophical and the Catechetical Schools of Alexandria.<sup>2</sup>

No written Catechesis, properly so called, of the first century has come down to us; though it is quite certain that these were symbols like the Apostles' Creed, which formed the basis of oral instruction. The treatises termed *Didascalia Apostolorum* cannot be properly called Catecheses, although they were frequently read to Catechumens.<sup>3</sup> The Copts had another treatise with the same title.

Justin Martyr's *Expositio*, the Catechesis of the heretic Eunomius, the Catechesis Magna and *Parva* of Theodore the Student, the *Libri Institutionum* of Lactantius, and the treatise of John Damascene, "de Fide Orthodoxa," notwithstanding their titles, are, none of them, Catecheses properly so called, *i. e.* simple and comprehensive summaries for the use of Catechumens.

During the period of the persecutions of Trajan, Hadrian, etc., we find that these attacks upon the Church from without, together with the growth of heresies within, led both to the publication of *Apologies*, and to the increased importance of catechetical schools. In the extant list of the Catechists of the school of Alexandria,

<sup>1</sup> *De Scriptor. Eccles.* f. m. 188.

<sup>2</sup> Eusebius speaks of Pantænus as preceding him: but it is certain that he followed Athenagoras after a few years; and the latter is the first who is cited as an Alexandrian Catechist.

<sup>3</sup> The *Doctrina Petri*, mentioned by Origen (*Περὶ Ἀρχῶν*, I. f. m. 666), the *Didascalia* of Clemens Romanus (MS. in the Imperial Library at Vienna), the *Didascalia* of Barnabas, and that of Hippolytus (in the Bodleian), partake of much the same character with the *Pastor of Hermas*.

occurs the name of Clement, of whom his disciple Origen, who became himself an Alexandrian catechist, records that he spent many hours each day in catechizing; and in his three books, *Protrepticus*, *Pædagogus* and *Libri Stromatum*, he appears as a true Catechetical teacher. The first is intended to win heathens to Christianity; in the second, he sets before Catechumens their Christian duties; and in the third, he instructs the more established Christians in the higher mysteries of the faith.

A similar work was carried on at Antioch by Ignatius and Theophilus; at Smyrna by Polycarp; at Athens, Quadratus diligently taught and catechized; and Eusebius asserts that Dionysius, Bishop of Corinth, in his Letters to the Lacedæmonians, supplied them with a complete Catechesis in the necessary matters of the faith. Tertullian speaks of adults being catechized before baptism in the Church of Carthage; and Irenæus catechized in his churches. The substance of the Catechetical teaching of the first two centuries, like that of the sermons of St. Peter on the Day of Pentecost, and St. Paul at Athens, would be suited to the intellectual and spiritual needs of converts from heathenism and Judaism. The former would be taught the nothingness of idols, the great truth of the resurrection, and the necessity of forsaking the gross sins to which they had been accustomed, for a new and holier life: while the Jews needed, above all things, to be convinced that our Lord had fulfilled the Messianic prophecies which embodied the hopes of their race. At Carthage, Cyprian, appointing Optatus to the office of Catechist, writes to the presbyters and deacons:—"Fecisse autem me sciatis lectorem Saturum, et hypodiaconum, Optatum confessorem; quos jam pridem communi consilio elero proximo feceramus, quando aut Sastro die Paschæ semel atque iterum lectionem dedimus: aut Optato eum presbyteris, doctoribus, lectoribus *Doctorem audientium* (i. e. Catechumenorum) constituimus, examinantes au congruerent illis omnia, quæ esse deberent in his, qui ad clerum parabantur." (22 *Epist.*, L. 3, f. m. 101, ed. Erasmi.)

At Cæsarea in the Holy Land, Pamphilus, a presbyter, and the maternal uncle of Eusebius Pamphilus, founded a Catechetical school of philosophy and theology, which became famous. (Nicephorus, *Hist. Eccl.*, L. 6, c. 37, f. 290.)

At Antioch, the youthful martyrs had been prepared for the sufferings which awaited them by the diligent catechizing of their

bishop, Babylas, himself a martyr. (Cave, *Life*, p. 467; Chrysostom, *Or. de Babyla*, t. 10, V. f. 417.)

The *Expositio Fidei* of Gregory Thaumaturgus is a beautiful treatise on the Holy Trinity, and has survived both in its Greek and Latin versions.

On account of the ridicule cast upon the great Christian verities and rites by the heathen, the teaching of the Catechists was entirely oral: and the Catechumens were not even allowed to assist the memory by taking notes.<sup>1</sup>

In the 4th century, we meet with many notices of catechetical instruction at Constantinople, Alexandria, and elsewhere, as we read the lives and writings of St. Chrysostom, Gregory of Nyssa, Basil, Gregory Nazianzen (who was assisted in this duty by his wife Nonna), Gregory Nazianzen the Younger, and St. Ambrose. From the Catecheses of Cyril of Jerusalem (born about A.D. 315, died March 386) we may learn the doctrines, methods of teaching, and customs of the Church at that time. They consist of a *Procatechesis*, eighteen *Catecheses*, and five *Mystagogices*.

In the 5th century we have many allusions to Catechumens and the instruction needful for them, in St. Augustine. (See especially "Liber de catechizandis rudibus.")

In the 6th century we note the Catechesis of James Baradeus; and the gradual obscuration of the doctrine of Justification by Faith.

In the 7th century, along with the partial destruction of Eastern Christianity by the Mahometans, we find traces of catechetical teaching in the West, as preceding Baptism, etc.

In the 8th century, we have Theodulph's instructions to his clergy upon catechizing, and the writings of the Venerable Bede.

In this century also we have the *Symbolum Athanasianum*.

In the 9th century the First Council of Mayence, and the Council of Tours (A.D. 813), ordered religious instruction in the vulgar tongue.

From this time, we have increasing light thrown upon catechetical teaching, and more MS. Catecheses have been preserved to us; those who are interested in the subject will find ample references in the

<sup>1</sup> See the close of the sixty-first sermon of Peter Chrysologus, Bishop of Ravenna; similar sayings are to be found in *Cyril. Hieros. Catech.* V., f. 78; also in St. Augustine, Ruffinus, and St. Ambrose.

pages of Langemarke. The *Catechesis Prima* of Michael, Metropolitan of Athens (12th cent.), is to be found in the Bodleian Library.

In the 13th century we have the *Expositio Symboli* of Thomas Aquinas, the *Expositio Orationis Dominicæ* of St. Francis, and Grostête's, *De præceptis decalogi, de articulis fidei, et de Oratione Dominicâ*.

Here it is interesting to note, that in Cantos 24, 25 and 26 of the *Paradiso*, written about the year 1316, Beatrice entreats the Blessed to gratify the longing soul of Dante with a draught of the Divine wisdom. Thereupon St. Peter, St. James, and St. John respectively catechize the poet upon the three virtues, Faith, Hope, and Love. Dante "girds himself as a responding Bachelor" for the examination. The definition of Hope he borrows from the Master of the Sentences.

During the 15th century, children were commonly taught the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the Ten Commandments, without any explanation, and with the addition of the *Ave Maria* and other prayers to the Saints. But at the commencement of the Reformation, no catechism was used in the schools, but the "Children's Bible" or "Primer," containing the Alphabet, the Ten Commandments, the Belief, and the Lord's Prayer without explanation; and certain other prayers: but the *Ave Maria* and similar mediæval interpolations, had, in most places, if not in all, been expunged from them.

We now come to the Reformation group of Catecheses, of which the most important are the "Explicatio Symboli, Decalogi et Orationis Dominicæ of John Huss," Luther's Catechism, and the "Church Catechism" in the English "Book of Common Prayer."

Luther complained,<sup>1</sup> that "The old teaching of the faith of Christ, of love, of prayer, of the Cross, of comfort in tribulations, was entirely neglected; in all the world there was hardly a doctor who knew the whole Catechesimum, that is, the Lord's Prayer, the Ten Commandments and the Creed, to say nothing of understanding and teaching it, as it is now, thanks be to God, taught and learned even by young children; in proof of which I appeal to all their books, jurists, and theologians. If one portion of the Catechism may be rightly learnt from them, I will let myself be bled, and broken on the wheel!"

<sup>1</sup> *To. V. Altenb.*, f. 208 b.

Luther's first Catechism (1520) was not put forth under that name; it was an explanation of the Commandments, the Creed, and the Lord's Prayer. Before this time, various explanations of the Commandments and the Lord's Prayer had been put forth by himself or by his co-workers: for instance, "A Short Form of contemplating the Ten Commandments, and of praying the Lord's Prayer: D. Martin Luther," 1518. It is remarkable that although the Ave Maria is here omitted, because he was conscious of its abuse,<sup>1</sup> yet it is found in "A Little Prayer-Book, and Reading-Book of Martin Luther added to and improved"; in 1523.

His "Greater" and "Smaller Catechisms" were published in 1529.

For an account of other Catechisms of the foreign Reformers, we must refer the reader to Walchius (*Bibl. Theol.*, vol. i.): and the elaborate work of Joh. Geffchen on the Catechisms of the 15th and 16th centuries. (Leipzig, T. O. Weigel, 1855.)

In England, in the year 1536, a set of Injunctions framed by Cranmer were issued by the authority of Henry VIII. Among them was an attempt to revive the practice of catechizing: the clergy were to take care that children should be taught the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the Ten Commandments in their mother-tongue.

By the Injunctions issued in 1547, the first year of Edward VI., it was directed "That every holy-day throughout the year, when they (deans, archdeacons, parsons, vicars and other ecclesiastical persons) have no sermon, they shall immediately after the gospel, openly and plainly recite to their parishioners in the pulpit, the *Paternoster*, the *Credo*, and the ten commandments in English, to the intent the people may learn the same by heart: exhorting all parents and householders to teach their children and servants the same, as they are bound by the law of God, and in conscience to do."<sup>2</sup>

The same injunctions also direct "That they shall in confessions every Lent, examine every person that cometh to confession to them, whether they can recite the articles of their faith, the 'Paternoster' and the ten commandments in English, and hear them say the same particularly; wherein if they be not perfect, they shall declare then, that every Christian person ought to know the said things before

<sup>1</sup> 1522. T. II. *Jenens Germ.*, f. 188.

<sup>2</sup> Cardwell, *D. A.*, I. 7. This item was reproduced in the Injunctions of the first year of Elizabeth.—*Ib.*, pp. 213, 214.

they should receive the blessed sacrament of the altar, and monish them to learn the said necessary things more perfectly, or else they ought not to presume to come to God's board without a perfect knowledge, and will to observe the same: and if they do, it is to the great peril of their souls, and also to the worldly rebuke that they might incur hereafter by the same.”<sup>1</sup>

In 1549, the compilers of the Eng'ish Prayer Book inserted a Catechism in the Confirmation Service to be learned by candidates as a preparation. It differed but little from the first part of the present Catechism, ending with the explanation of the Lord's Prayer; and has been variously attributed to Dean Nowell, Poynt Bishop of Rochester, and Goodrich Bishop of Ely.

The explanation of the Sacraments was added at the revision of 1604. John Overal, Dean of St. Paul's, afterwards successively Bishop of Lichfield and Norwich, appears to have compiled it from *The Little Catechism* of Dean Nowell,

“For 's threefold Catechism worthily  
Much honour'd, and for his great charity.”<sup>2</sup>

Nowell based the largest of his Catechisms upon Edward VI.'s *Short Catechism* (1552-3), probably compiled by John Ponet or Poynt, Bishop successively of Rochester and Winchester. Poynt had made much use of *The Institution of a Christian Man* (1537), and *A Necessary Doctrine and Erudition for any Christian Man* (1543). He only slightly touches upon the Sacraments, after the explanation of the Creed. Bishop Jacobson has pointed out that Nowell borrowed largely from the *Catechism of John Calvin* (1541).

Nowell's *Middle Catechism* was authorized to be taught in Grammar Schools to the older, and his *Little Catechism*, which must have been published before 1559, to the younger scholars.<sup>3</sup> At the end of the Confirmation Service in the *Prayer Book* of 1549 we find the following Rubric:—“¶ The Curate of every parish, once in six weeks at the least, upon warning by him given, shall upon some Sunday or Holy Day, half an hour before Evensong, openly in the Church instruct and examine so many children of his parish sent unto him, as the time will serve, and as he shall think convenient, in some part of this Catechism . . . .” Other Injunctions were added

<sup>1</sup> Cardwell, *D. A.*, I. 16.

<sup>2</sup> Verses at end of Fuller's *Life of Nowell*.

<sup>3</sup> See the valuable “Introduction” prefixed by Dr. Groves to his edition of Nowell's *Little Catechism*. (McGee, Dublin, 1878.)

in 1549, 1559, and in the Canons of 1571, and repeated in the 59th Canon in the year 1603.

In the Confirmation Office appended to Herman's "Consultation,"<sup>1</sup> there is a Catechism strongly resembling the Catechism of the Church of England, opening with the Baptismal Covenant. But Dr. Groves<sup>2</sup> has pointed out that in this respect, Marshall's *Prymer* or "Dialogue, wherein the child asked certain questions, answereth to the same," is earlier than either; there is an extant edition of it certainly not later than 1534. Its author has been supposed to be Cuthbert Marshall, Archdeacon of Nottingham, but it probably derived its name from the bookseller, and Strype ascribes it to Cranmer. Dr. Groves observes that it contains the first rude drafts of many of the hymns and prayers of the present English Liturgy.

#### § 4. APPENDIX.

The following list of works bearing upon Catechisms and their History is prefixed by Langemark to the second volume of his *Historia Catecheticae* (Stralsund, 1733).

D. Valent. Alberti, Prof. Lips. *dissertatio theologica-practica de Catechesi*, Resp. M. Clem. Thime. Lips., 1688.

Anon. *Delicie Catecheticae*. Dresden, 1704. 8.

Gottfr. Arnold's Kirchen- und Ketzer-Historie. P. II. lib. 16.

M. Leonh. Bohmri Instit. *Theologiæ Catecheticæ*. Altd. 1722. 4.

D. Jo. Franc. Buddei *historia catechetica in Schamelius Vindic. Catech.* Leipzig, 1726. 8.

Ejusd. *Isagoge historico-theologica*. Lips., 1727. 4.

D. Jo. Ben. Carpzovii disput. *Ad librum Augustini de Catechizandis rudibus*, 1688. Lips. hab. quæ inter disput. ejus Acad. est 19. Lips., 1699. 4.

Gottfreunds (*i.e.* Gottfried Dexelii) *Deliciae Catecheticae*. Dresden und Leipzig, 1701. 8.

Jo. Ge. Eccardi *Catechesis Theotisca*. Hannov. 1713. 8.

Andr. Fabricii *Oratio de Catechismo*, 1569.

M. Caspar Fiedlers, Archid. in Rochlitz erleuchteter Catechismus-Prediger. Leipz. 1689. 8. 1. Alph. 3 pl.

D. Georg Henr. Goetzeus *Catechismus. Bibliothec.* Leipzig und Budissin, 1722. 4.

<sup>1</sup> Drawn up by Bucer and Melanthon, 1543.

<sup>2</sup> Introduction to his edition of Nowell's *Little Catechism*, p. xxi.

Joh. Christ. Hungers Pentalogus deliciae catecheticæ. Dresden, 1716, 1718. 8.

Andr. Hyperii de catesesi lib. cum præf. Joh. Andr. Schmid, de Schola Alexandrina Catechetica. Helmst. 1704. 8. pl. 6.

M. Jo. Henr. Krause de catesesi primitivæ Ecclesiæ, 1704.

Jo. Meisneri Examen Catechismi Palatini. Witteb. 1669. 4.

Jo. Christoph. Meureri Isagoge in theologiam catecheticam s. apparatus catechetici Idea.

L. Jo. Phil. Oheims (Superint. zu Borna) catechetica.

Ambrosii Rendenii Oratio de usu catechisma habita in promotione duorum doctorum Theologiae. 1594. 4. Inserta est actui promotionis D. Schlüsselburaii & Balth. Möllerii.

Joh. Mart. Schamelii vindiciae catecheticæ. Leipzig, 1726. 8.

Ejusd. Supplementa. Leipzig, 1727. 8.

Jo. And. Schmid. Progr. de Catesesi Racoviensi. Helmst. 1724.

D. Jo. Ge. Walchii Introductio historica & theologica in Libros Symbolicos Ecclesiæ Lutheranæ variis observationibus illustrata. Jen. 1732. 4. 6. Alph.

D. Mich. Waltheri Prof. Witt. Disp. de catesisatione veterum. Wittenb. 1688. 4.

D. Mich. Walther, General-Sup. zu Zell, Gloria Catechismi. Nürnberg. 1645. 12.

D. Christian Frid. Wilisch historiæ catecheticæ delineatio, una cum Syllabo autorum catesetichorum. Altenb. 1717. 4.

Ejusd. Princeps Sax. de Catechismo Lutheri bene meritus ib. in Jubilio Altenb.

D. Christoph. Heinrich Zeibichs von der Weimarschen Catechismus-Historie. Weimar, 1727. 8.



# The Lay Folks Catechism.

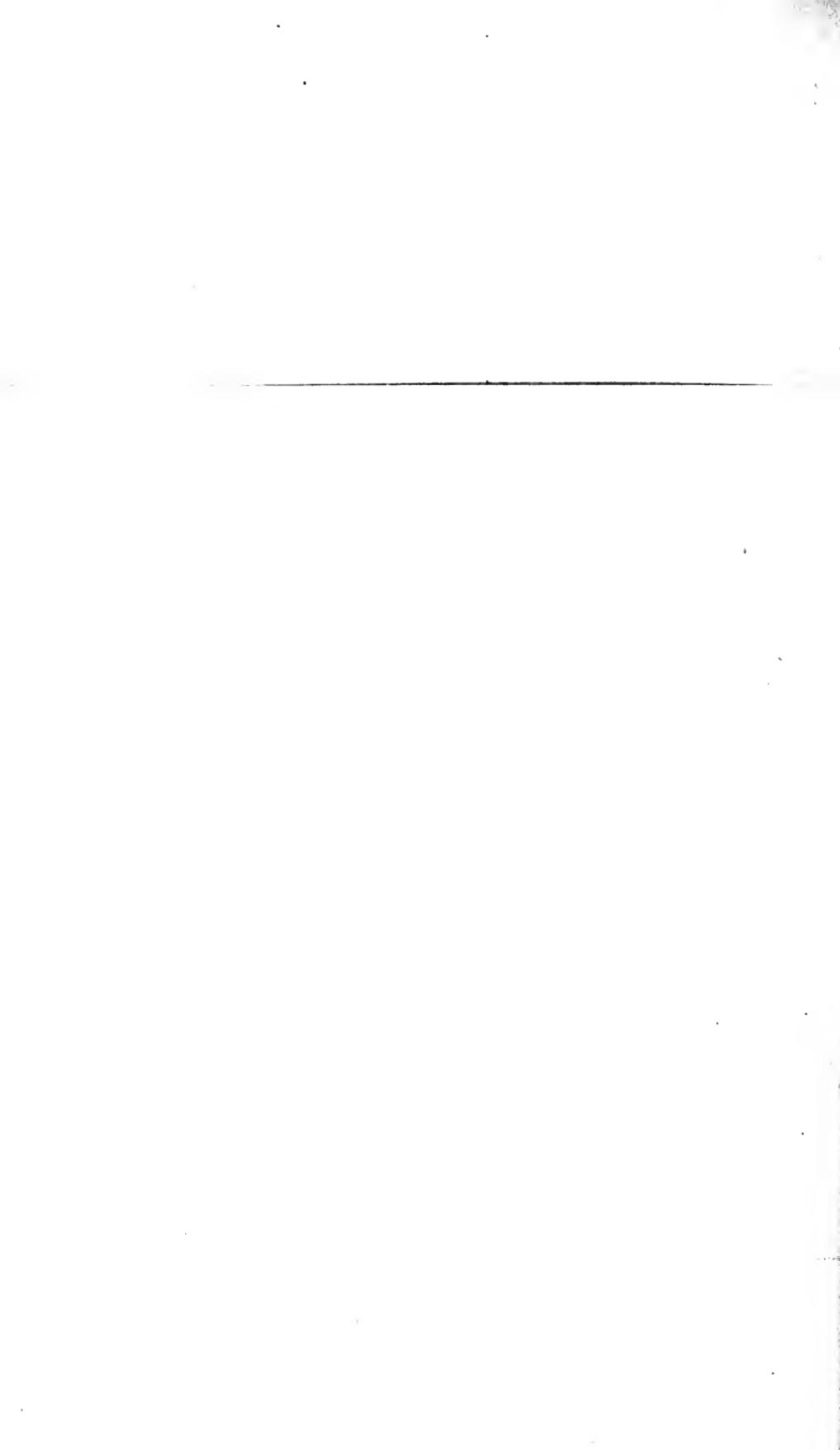
CORRECTIONS FOR No. 118, ORIGINAL SERIES,  
E. E. TEXT SOC.

## The Lay Folks' Catechism.

Page xx, line 16. After "The monk of St. Mary's Abbey," read "John de Garryk, or Gaytrik (vide p. xviii), *alias* Taystek . . ."; (J. de G. below).

Page 3. Margin, line 4. Omit "false." The indulgence was for knowledge of the "Six Things." Vide pp. 96-99.

IV. (F) THE CATECHISM  
UNDER ARCHBISHOP PECKHAM, A.D. 1281.



## The Lay Folks Catechism.

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I. (T) THE ENGLISH OF ARCHBISHOP THORESBY'S INSTRUCTION OR CATECHISM FOR THE PEOPLE, FROM THE AUTHENTIC COPY IN HIS REGISTER AT YORK.

*On the upper part of the even, or left-hand, pages.*

II. (C) THE ORIGINAL LATIN OF NO. I, AS APPROVED BY THE COUNCIL OR CONVOCATION OF THE CLERGY OF THE DIOCESE AND PROVINCE OF YORK, A.D. 1357, FROM THORESBY'S REGISTER,

III. (L) A WYCLIFFITE ADAPTATION OF THE CATECHISM, WITH LATIN RUBRICS, PUT FORTH UNDER THE NAME OF ARCHBISHOP THORESBY, FROM THE LAMBETH MS., NO. 408; AND ADDITIONS [WITHIN BRACKETS] FROM YORK MINSTER MS., XVI. L. 12.

*On the upper part of the odd, or right-hand, pages.*

IV. (P) THE CORRESPONDING CANONS OF THE COUNCIL OF LAMBETH, UNDER ARCHBISHOP PECKHAM, A.D. 1281.

# The Lay Folks Catechism.

[fol. 295]  
The Master of the  
Sentences proves

that the goodness  
of God was the  
cause of the  
whole creation.

God, desiring  
some of his  
creatures to share  
in everlasting  
bliss,

gave reason to  
angels and men,

by which to know  
and serve him.

This knowledge  
of God Adam and  
Eve had of His  
gift ;  
but to us, their  
children, by

**T.** Is that a gret clerk shewes in his bokes,  
 [A] Et est secundo *sentenciarum* distinctione prima,  
     Of all the creatures that god made in heuen,  
     And in erthe, in water, or in ayre, or in ought elles,  
 5 The soueraigne cause and the skill whi that he  
     made thaime,  
     Was his owen gode will and his godenesse.  
     Thurgh whilk godenesse, als he is all gode,  
     He wold *that* som creatures of thas that he made  
     Were communers of that blisse that euermor lastes.  
 10 And for no creature might come to that ilk blisse  
     Withouten knawing of god, als that clerk techis,  
     —ubi supra—  
     He made skillwise creatures, angel and man,  
     Of witt and of wisdome to know god al-myghten,  
     And, thurgh thair knawing, loue him *and* serue him ;  
 15 And so come to that bliss that thai were made to.  
     This maner of knawying had oure forme-fadyr  
     In the state of innocencey that thai were made in,  
     And so shuld we have had, if thai had not synned,  
     Noght so mikell als hali saules has now in heven,  
 20 Bot mikel mare than man has now in erthe :  
     For our forme-fadirs synned, sais the prophet,

**C.** **¶** JOHANNES permissione divina, &c., dilecto filio Archidiacono nostro, &c., salutem, gratiam et benedictionem.

**¶** Quia nonnulli Christi fideles, quibus, licet immitterit, praesideimus,

4 non sunt, quod dolenter gerimus, saltē in grossis et necessariis

**L.** **M**andatum domini Johannis de Thoresby. Eborum Archiepiscopi Rectoribus. Vicarijs tocius prouincie sue ad predicandum parochianos illorum & predictus dominus Johannis concessit omnibus adiscentibus istud mandatum .xl. dies indulgencie.

[fol. 1]

Latin heading set before the interpolated catechism, with a *false* claim to the indulgence of Archbishop Thoresby.

**T**hema. *Attendite popule meus Inclinate aurem vestram in verba oris mei.//*

10 **A**s a gret clerk tellys *and* schewys in his bokys. **O**f alle þe creaturis þat god made in heuyn

*and* in erthe in water *and* in eyre. or in ouȝt ellys. þe souerayne cause *and* þe skyle why he made hem

Was his owne god wyl *and* his goo[*d*]nesse. thorw þe whiche godnesse. as he ys al good.

15 he wolde þat sum creaturis of þo þat he made were commeneris of þat blys þat euyr lastys. **A**nd for no creature miȝt come to þat blys withoute knowyng of god as þe clerk techys.

he made skylful creaturis as angelys *and* man  
20 of wit *and* of wisdom to know god almyȝty. and thorwȝ his knowyng loue hym *and* serue hym and so come to þat blysse / þat þey were made to. This maner of knowyng had oure former faderys in þe stat of innocenee. þat þey were mad yn.  
25 þat we schuld haue had: yf þey had not synned. But not so-mokyl as holy sowlys haue now in heuen. but mochyl more þen any man has now in erthe. For oure former faderis synned says þe prophete.

**P.** Nos Frater *Johannes* permissione Divina *Cantuarensis* Archiepiscopus, totiusque *Angliae* Primas, præsentibus cupientes incommodis obviare: sperantes, quod Christi patrocinante gratia, ad hoc nos 4 posse proficere cum Fratrum ac Episcoporum nostrorum, ac caetero-

reason of their  
sin,  
Lam., v. 7.

**T.** And we bere *the wickednesse of thaire misdede.*

—Trenorum ultimo—

For *the knawing that thai had of god almighty,*

25 *Thai had it of goddes giftt at thaire begynnyng  
With-outen travaile or trey or passyng of tyme;  
And all the knawyng þat we have in þis world of  
him,*

this knowledge  
comes only by  
teaching,

*Is of heryng, and leryng and techyng of othir,*

*Of the lawe and þe lare þat langes till halikirke,*

30 *The whilke al creatures that loues god almighty  
Awe to knawe and to kun, and ledē þaire lyue aftir;  
And so com to that bliffe that never more blynnes.  
And forthi that makill folke now in this world  
Ne is noght wele ynogh lered to knawe god al-  
mighty,*

but is needful to  
never-ending  
bliss.

Many are ignorant  
of this,

35 *Ne loue him, ne serue him als thai suld do,  
Als thaire dedis ofte sithe openly shewes,  
In grete peril of thaim to lyue and to sawle,  
And perauenture the defaitor in thaim,  
That has thaire saules to kepe, and suld teche thame,  
40 Als prelates, parsons, vikers, and prestes  
That er halden be dette for to lere thame—*

and the fault  
may be in the  
clergy, who are  
bound to teach  
them.

Archbishop  
Thoresby, after  
the example of  
Christ, is desirous  
of the salvation  
of all.

Oure fadir *the Ercebisshop, that god almighty sauē,*

*That als saint Paule sais of Iesu crist,*

—Paulus ad Thimotheum secundo ca<sup>o</sup>.—

44 *Will that al men be saufe and knawe god almighty,*

**C.** Christianæ legis observantiis instructi, quod tam ex nostra, quam ex  
rectorum, vicariorum, et sacerdotum parochialium, qui ipsos juxta  
susceptæ curæ debitum haberemus instruere, incuria, ne dicamus  
ignorantia, dicitur evenire; per quod (quod Deus avertat) de facili,  
via patere potest erroribus, et gravibus periculis animarum.

10 *Nos volentes, ut tenemur, super hoc remedium apponere salutare,*

**L.** and we bere þe wykkydnesse of þair mysdedys.

30 for knowing þat þey hadde of god almyȝthy:

þey hadde yt of goddys gyfte at þare begynnyng  
withowte travayl or tray or passynge of tyme.

And al þe knawynge þat we haue in þis werld of  
hym

ys of herynge and larnynge. and wyssyng of othyr.

35 of þe lawe and þe lore þat longys at holy chyrche.

þe whyche alle creaturis þat loue god almyȝty  
owe to knowe and lede here lyf þeraftyr.

and so come to þat blys þat neuer schal haue ende.  
and for þat now mekyl folk in this world.

40 ys not wel lernyd to knowe god almyȝty.

ne loue hym ne serue hym. as þey schold do.  
as þayr dedys often tyme opunly schewys  
in gret perel of þaym to lyf and to sowle.  
and paraventure þe cawse may be in ham:

45 þat han here sowlys to kepe. and schulde teche þaym.  
as prelatys. persons. and vycars. and oþer prestys.  
þat haue take þat offyce. and ar holdyn be dette to  
lere þaym.

And no prestts \*may be excusid ffor be trew dette  
þey holdyng to teche þaym

And þerfore oure fadyr þe archiepyschop wylle þat  
alle men knowe god

50 and be saf. for Seynt Poul. seys of god:

þat iesu wylle þat alle men be saf and know god  
almyȝty.

[fol. 1 b]  
Priests cannot be  
excused from  
teaching; and the  
Archbishop de-  
sires that all men  
should have the  
knowledge of God,  
according to what  
St Paul says of  
our Lord.

**P.** rum nostræ Provinciae Prælatorum assistentia efficaci, de prudentiæ  
virorum consilio hoc Sacrum Concilium mandavimus convocari.

**I**gnorantia Sacerdotum populum præcipitat in foveam erroris, et  
clericorum stultitia vel ruditas, qui de fide Catholica mentes  
9 fidelium instruere jubentur, magis aliquando ad errorem proficit,

**T.** And namely thas underloutes that to him langes,

Has treted and ordayne for commune profet,

Thurgh the consaile of his clergie,

That ilkane that vndir him has kepynge of saules,

Openly on Inglis opon sononndais

50 Teche and preche thaim, that thai haue cure of,  
 The lawe and the lore to knawe god all-mighten,  
 That principali mai be shewed in *this* sex thinges :  
 In þe fourtere poyntes that falles to *the* trouthe ;

**C.** *sacro approbante cleri nostrarum dioecesis at provinciae consilio,*  
*super hoc sic duximus ordinandum, ut quilibet rector, vicarins,*  
*capellanus parochialis et curatus alias, saltem diebus dominicis,*  
*sine exquisita verborum subtilitate exponant, seu exponere faciant,*  
 15 *populo in vulgari*

**L.** and namely þe vndirlynges þat to hym longys.  
and þerfor he has tretyd *and* ordeynyd for þe  
comyn profyt  
thorowȝ þo conseyl of hys clergy  
55 þat euerych þat vndyr hym has kepyng of sowlys  
opunly on englysch vpon sundays  
preche *and* teche ham: þat þey haue cure of  
þe lawe *and* þe lore to knowe god almyȝty *and* hys  
werkys.

**P**ater noster. qui es in celis.

The Lord's  
Prayer

We schulþ be-leue þat þis pater noster.  
60 þat crist hym self techis to alle cristyn men.  
passys oþer prayers in these thre thyngis. surpasses other  
prayers  
In auctorite. In sotylte. *and* profyt to his chyrche.  
Hyt passis in auctorite. For crist hym self boþe god in original  
authority,  
*and* man:  
made yt *and* tauȝt hyt: for cristyn men to vse hyt.  
65 And he ys most of auctorite as oure be-leue techis vs.  
And here-fore þe gospel of **Mathew.** seys þat crist M<sup>T</sup>. 6°.  
bad vs pray thus.  
Hyt passys also in sotylte. For we schulle vndyr- subtile wisdom,  
stonde.  
þat in þese vij askyngkys are conteyned  
alle þe poyntys of þis world in þe whiche is ony wyt  
70 And so schortly to comprehend so moche wyt in  
playn wordys

**P.** quam ad doctrinam. Quidam etiam cæci non semper loca visitant, quæ magis constat veritatis lumine indigere, testante propheta qui ait, quod *Parvuli petierunt panem nec erat qui frangeret* :—Threnorum Ieremiæ, iv, 4—et alio clamante, quia *Egeni et pauperes querunt aquas, lingua eorum siti aruit.* Esaiæ, li, 17.

15 In quorum remedium discriminum statuendo Praecipimus, ut quilibet sacerdos plebi præsids quater in anno, hoc est, semel in qualibet quarta anni, una die solenni vel pluribus, per se vel per alium, exponat populo vulgariter absque cuiuslibet subtilitatis tex-tura fantastica

**T.** (*Nothing in original to correspond with L.*)

**L.** ys a sotylte of god passyng þe wyt of man.

and advantage 'n  
using.

The þrydde we schulle suppose þat no prayer in þe world  
is more profitable to man sythen þat crist hym self schal here al.

First Petition.

¶ The fyrst askynge of þis pater noster stondis in þese wordis

**75 Our fadyr þat art in heuyn: halwyd be þy name.**

In whyehe wordys. we mow lerne þat men worthy to be herd :

must be knyt in charite. *and* meknese of herte.

sythen al þe holyte (*sic*) trinite ys fadyr of vs alle *and* holy chyrche is modyr. we schulde loue as breþern.

**80 And sethen god ys so hyȝ in heuyn a-boue al his angelys.**

*and* we be so low in erthe. wrappid with many myscheuys./

we schulde be resoun be meke *and* buxum to þis lord and mekely pray to oure fadyr þatt halwyd be his name.

**So as his name ys halowyd nedlych in hym-self :**

**85 so be hys name halwyd. *and* stedfast in oure sowle.**

**For** whan oure sowle was mad to lyknesse of þe trinte :

goddis hyȝ name was prentyd þeryn.

The secunde askynge of þis prayer. stondys in these wordys.

**Thy reme come to þe, in-to þe blysse of heuyn.**

[fol. 2] **90\*In so as þe furste askynge. answerys to þe fadyr :**  
so þe secunde askynge a[n]swerys to þe sone.

For he ys þat nobyl man. þat com down in-to erthe to gete hym a Reme. *and* aftyr to turne aȝen.

The Reme of þis fadyr ys callyd Holy chyrche.

The second  
Petition.

**L.** þat at þe day of dome schal go hennys in-to heuyn  
 ¶ The thrydde askynge. seyth þus **Be thy wylle** Third Petition.  
 don.  
**as yt ys fully don in hevyn:** so be yt don in  
 erthe.  
 And þis thrydde askynge. answeris to þe holy gost  
 ffor he ys good loue of þe ffadyr. *and* of þe sone.  
 100 And al-thaw þese askyngys most nedelynge be  
 fulfyllyd:  
 natholes mannys sowle ys lyfte vp *with* charite  
*with* desyre heyȝed *with* god. *and* þat ys a prayer  
 Thus we seye blyssyd be god. *and* oþer thyngys  
 þat nedis mot be  
 And þese thre askyngys: arn to þe holy Trinitie.  
 105 And þerfore we schape oure wordys only to god.  
 The secunde part of þis prayer conteynes foure Fourth Petition.  
 askyngys.  
**Furst we preye oure fadyr þus**  
**Fadyr oure eche day bred gyf vs to day.** Food  
 And þis may be wel vndirstonde: on þre manerys.  
 110 ¶ as seynt Austyn seyþ be wit of god almyȝthy.  
**Furst we aske oure bodely fode:** for to serue oure *for the body;*  
 fadyr.  
 aftyr we aske þe sacrament to haue mende of oure *in the Eucharist;*  
 Fadyr.  
 And aftyrward we aske goddys word to fede *with* *in God's word.*  
 oure sowle.  
 And for we haue nede of alle þese yche day:  
 115 þerfore crist callys hem oure eche day bred.  
 and for we schulde be trewe: *and* ete oure owne  
 bred:  
 [*And not in wrong ete our neeghboris breed*]  
 þerfore crist techis vs to aske of hym oure bred.  
 And for crist wolde þat oure hope were freschyd  
 in hym:  
 120 oure thoght *and* oure mynde. *and* alle oure desyre:

**T.** (*Nothing in original to correspond with L.*)

**L.** þerfore he byddys vs aske þis mete of hym to day

The fifth Petition.

¶ The secunde part of þis askyngge (*askynge of þis part*) sewyþ in þese wordys.

**For-ȝeue vs oure dettys:** as we do to oure dettours.

These dettys þat we owe to god: ar seruyse þat we owe to hym.

125 **And as ofte tymes as we fayle:** we renne in-to dette of peyne.

and but god for-ȝeue vs þis dette of synne:

we be nat worthy to haue auȝt of oure fadry.

**And for god wyl þat we loue oure breþeryn.**

he knyttys to a condicioun vndyr whyche: we aske þis bone.

130 **þat he schulde forȝeue vs oure dettys;** as we forȝeue oure dettowrys.

**So þat ȝif we be vn-mercyful to men þat be oure dettours**

**trist we to oure fadry** \*þat he wyl punysche vs.

**And so we praye oure hyȝe iuge aȝens oure owyn hed.**

**But vndirstonde we.** þat we mowe leffully

135 **aske of oure broþern dette of erthelyche thyngys.**

but þis askynge mot be in resoun *and* charite.

**And þan yt [is] for charite *and* loue *and* profyt to oure neyȝebore.**

*and* here we mot fle bothe rancour *and* hate.

*and* envye to oure [neyȝbore] with oþer schrewde castys

140 ¶ The thrydde askynge of þis part swyt in these wordys./

**Oure Fadry lede vs nat in temptacioun.//**

**Soþ yt ys þat crist was temptyd. *and* god temptyd man for loue.**

[fol. 25]

**L.** But hard it ys *and* greuous peyne to be lad in  
temptacioun.

For whan man of his foly. in-to myre of synne  
fallys.

145 Ryȝt jugement of god wol make hym synke deppyr./  
And herfore we pray hym our fadyr  
þat he lede vs nat in-to þis hardnesse of synne  
lest we come neuer owt.

And herfore þe laste askyng sewyþ in þese wordis. The seventh  
Petition.

150 But gracius fadyr delyuere vs fro euyl.  
The worst þynge in þis world is wykkydnesse of  
synne.

Sythe a man for noþynge schulde wylle to do  
synne!  
sythen for al þis world. ne nogt; þer-yn schuld ony  
man do synne.

But sythen sum synnes be moche worse þan sum!

155 In þis last askyng we pray delyueraunce of þe  
werste synne.

The werst synne ys þe deuelys synne  
þat man deyes yn withoute repentaunce.  
þat euyr schal be punyschyd. and þat callys þe  
gospel:  
synne aȝenst þe holy gost.

160 God for his grete mercy! kepe vs fro þis euyl.  
And þan schulen we haue euer-lastyngge fredam.  
Amen.

### Aue Maria.

Men gretyþ comulyn oure lady goddys moder  
and we suppose þat þis gretyng sauys many a man  
For we take as be-leue. þat sche ys blyssyd in  
heuyn.

The Angelic  
Salutation to the  
Blessed Virgin

is laid down as  
being a means of  
salvation.

165 And crist wyl do at hyr prayyng among al oþyr  
seyntys.

And þow we trow þat noþer crist ne sche  
wil do for man but yt be resonable.

Christ will answer  
her prayers as  
those of other  
saints for men  
that are worthy.

T. (*Nothing in original to correspond with L.*)

**L.** and men þat ben worthy to be holbyn.  
And so mow men triste to be holbyn fully in  
suche prayer.

The Salutation is  
made up of

the greeting of  
the angel,

[fol. 3]

the blessing of  
Elizabeth,

and two words  
tacked on.

The name of Mary  
left out to prove  
the familiarity of  
Gabriel.

The name of  
Jesus, Saviour,  
left out, for Mary  
had no other son;  
and He did not  
die for our salva-  
tion till after-  
wards.

Ave read back-  
wards in Eva;  
hence a contrast.

Adam and Eve  
brought men  
under condemna-  
tion, from which  
our Lord and His  
mother saved  
them.

Grace of three  
kinds:

170 **I**n þe partyes comunlyche þis gretyng ys dyuydyd.  
The furst part contenys þe wordys of Gabriel.  
whan he seyde to þis lady.  
**Heyl ful of grace! god is with the.**  
The secunde part of þis gretyng \*buth wordys  
þat Elysabeth spake to hyr whan sche sayde.

175 Blyssyd be þou amonge wommen. and blyssyd be  
þe fruyt of þy wombe.  
The þrydde part has two wordys clowtyd for  
deuocyon. Maria. and Iesus./  
Furst men seyn. **Heyl Marie þat gabryel lefte in**  
his gretyng  
to teche vs þat he was homly and knowyn *with*  
þis lady.  
*and þerfore wold he not nempne þis name of marie.*

180 The secunde word ys **Iesvs.** addyd to elyȝabethis  
wordys  
and þis word lefte þe gospel here. to teche þat  
marye hadde but on child.  
*and þis child was iesus. þat is sauiour of man-kynde.*  
**B**ut þis fyl longe [aftyr] þat oure lady was gret þus.  
The furste word. þat is aue. reuersys þe name  
of Eua

185 to teche vs þat oure lady contraryyd Eue in levyng.  
For ryȝth as Adam *and* Eue were cause of damp-  
nyng of man-kynde?  
**S**o iesus *and* Marie ben cawse of manrys saluacioun.  
The secunde word of þe angel seys. oure lady was  
ful of grace.  
**A**nd man may be ful of grace on thre maneris be  
godys lawe.

**L.** Furst of hym-self. as crist was þe furst qwyk welle In Christ as the well-spring;  
of grace.

for of hym spronge grace to alle men aftyr hym.

Our lady was ful of grace as a stronde ful of watyr in the Blessed Virgin as a channel to others;  
[And] gaf grace plenteous boþe to oþer men and  
wommen.

Seynt Steuyn was ful of grace þat sufficyd to his in St. Stephen sufficient unto his life's end.  
lyf for to bryng hym to blysse.

195 and so be many oþer seyntys. and so god ys with  
alle creaturis.

But specialy with men þat schul be sauyd.

But more specialy with þe chaumbyr of his manhed  
þat was oure lady marie.

But boþe þe Angel and Elyzabeth seyde þat oure The words of Gabriel and Elizabeth both declare the blessedness of Saint Mary.  
lady is blyssid  
a-mong alle wommen þat be for genderyng of  
seche a child.

200 And so þe be-gynnyng and þe endyng schuld be  
blessynge of iesu.

þat is froyt of þe wombe of oure lady seynt Marie.

The þridde part of þis gretynge addis two wordys The added words good in themselves,  
to þe gospel

þat ben Maria and iesus and two devowt wordis.

But for it ys hard to men to grounde hem leue. to but the addition to the written word is questionable,  
adde þis.

205 sythe godis lawe seys þat men schulde nat vp-on  
gret peyne.

adde to goddys word.

Hit ys seyd þat þe pope gefys gret pardoun to though the Pope does grant an indulgence for it.  
men þat addys þese wordys.

and be þe same skyle þat men schuld triste to  
eny pardoun :

men schuld triste to þis pardoun. be yt four score  
dayes or more.

210 And as þe pope may ȝeue þis pardoun be addyngge And if this indulgence, then [fol. 3b]  
of þese two \*wordys.

T. (*Nothing in original to correspond with L.*)

he may corrupt  
God's word.

Either this, or  
there was a defect  
at the first.

Besides, if indulg-  
ences are granted  
in this way,  
why not—it is  
asked *ad absurdum*—to any  
extent?

The words of the  
gospel are enough  
for us; and so let  
us honour Mary  
to the most of our  
power.  
Faith is the  
foundation of all  
virtues;  
hence the value of  
the three Creeds.  
As to the Apost-  
tle's Creed,—

whichever apostle  
made the several  
parts, or when,—  
God ordained it  
all for our learn-  
ing.

Failing their  
spiritual Supe-  
riors,

**L.** so may he adde oþer mo. *and* with-drawe as  
hym-self lykys.  
and so turne godys lawe! in-to lawe of antecrist.  
Oþer men moste graunt þis way. or say þat þis was  
furst [a] defawte kept to þe pope to amende.  
215 And herfore thynkys men þat þe wordys of þe  
gospel  
were wysly set in þe gospel with-owte varyynge.  
And many men thynkys ouer [:] ȝif suche pardoun  
myȝt be grauntyd lyȝtlyche  
with lasse travayle yt schuld be grauntyd generally  
to men þat devoutly sey þese names.  
220 And so myȝt pardoun be gotun to sey yche day a  
lady sawter!  
[ȝhe.] ten þowsand ȝer in on ȝere./  
Trust we to þe wordys of þe gospel. and worshipe  
we Marie with al our myȝt. **Amen.**  
**H**yt ys soþ. þat beleue is ground of alle vertues.  
and þerfore eche cristyn man schulde be  
sad in beleue.  
225 Ther be þre credys in þe chirche.  
Crede of þe apostelys. *and* Crede of þe chyrche.  
and Crede of attanasy. þat was a gret doctour.  
But of þe fyrste Crede schulde cristyn men speke.  
For yt is more comyn and more schortyр þan eny  
oþer.  
230 Ne bysy we vs nat what þþet apostyl made.  
þnet what party of þis holy Crede. *and* whan þe  
apostelys gaderyd yt.  
For oure beleue techis vs þat god ordeynyd hyt al.  
*and* bad þat men schuld cun hyt *and* teche yt to  
oþer  
And ȝif prelatys faylyn in þis Crist seyde þat  
stonys schulde crye

† York MS. omits.

† York MS. omits.

**L.** and secker lordys schuld in defawte of prelatys  
lerne *and preche þe* law of god in here modyr tonge.  
Ne study we nat how many partyes ben in þis  
holy crede.

For soþ it is! þat alle þese partyes ben contenyd  
in thre. Three chief truths  
in the Creed,

And herfore men seyn þrys! þat þey trow in god./

240 Fyrst þey trow in þe Fadyr. for he ys [þe] fyrst  
personē.

Aftyr þey trow in *Lesu* crist. be dyuers artyclys.  
and sytthe þey trow in þe holy gost.

And eche on of þese thre partyes contenys many  
artyclys (*articles*).

But we schul wele wyte! þat þese thre thyngys  
ben wel sotel *and* diuers. and three kinds  
of believing :

245 Trow in god. *and* [trow] to god.  
*and* trow god þat ys þe leste.  
þat man levys in god! þat cleuys to him be charite. faith in God by  
love;  
*and* þus eche man þat ys in hed synne. is owt of  
his beleue.

That man trowys to god. þat beleuyþ belief in His  
righteousness;

250 þat he is trewe *and* ryȝtful in al þyng þat he seyþ.  
And þus do vnkende men þat trow not in hym.

That man trowys god! þat trowys þat he ys.  
*and* so do \*deuelys þat trow not in hym. belief in His  
being.  
[fol. 4]

The fyrst part of þis Crede! conteynys þre artyculys. God, the Father

255 Furst þat men schulde trow in þe fyrst person  
þat ys þe fadyr of heuyn and power of god.  
*and* so schulde men trōwe þat he is al-myȝty. almighty,  
So if he wyl auȝt be don! he dos hit whan hym  
lykys.

and so þe thridde artycule stondys in þis. maker of heaven  
and earth.

260 þat he made of noȝt boþe heuyn *and* erthe.  
*and* ȝit schul men trow þat al-myȝty ys comen to  
þre personys. The attribute  
of almighty  
common to the  
three Persons,

Al-myȝty ys þe fadyr. Al-myȝty ys þe sone.

**T.** *(Nothing in original to correspond with L.)*

**L.** And al-myȝty ys þe holy gost. ȝit schul not men trowe.

but these three are one God.

As to Jesus Christ,

He is the Word of God, became Man, in the perfection of His Godhead.

He is the only begotten son of the Father, and of one substance with Him :

conceived by the Holy Ghost; not naturally engendered;

miraculously born of the Virgin Mary.

þat þese ben thre almyȝty goddys / but on god almyȝty./

265 The secunde part of þis Crede. be-gynnys at iesu crist. and towchis xiiij. artyeulis þat stondis in ordre.

Furst men schuld trow in goddys word. or his sone. Aftyr men schuld trow. þat he becom man stondyng his godhed þat he myȝt not lese.

270 The thridde tyme we schuld trow. þat þe fadyr of heuyn

has but on suche sone euyn with hym in kende. and þis ys Iesus oure lord. be godhed and be manhed. sythen he made vs of noȝt. and bowȝt vs fro synne.

The iiij articule of þis parte seys þat crist was conseuyyd of þe holy gost.

275 nat as oþer men gete childryн be kynde.

Sethyn þis person ys no man: but þe holy gost. / þe whyche ys lyf [loue] be sum propyrtie. and most tokyn of lyf [loue]: þat god wold schewe to man was.

þat he wold take oure kende. and be-come oure broþer./

280 and þerfore we beleue þat oure lord iesu:

was conseuyyd of þe holy gost. with-owte mannys genderynge.

The fyfte tyme we schuld be-leue. þat oure lord iesu was born of þe virgyn Marie. as of his owne modyr.

þat was euer virgine with-owte knowyng of man.

285 al-þow crist tok of hire / matere of hys body./ and seþyn sche norischyd hym withynne as oþer childyr ar norschid.

But he went owt of here body be myracle. as he was formyd.

L. The vj tyme we schul trowe þat. aftyr. xxxij. ȝer<sup>ti</sup>: Suffered under Pontius Pilate.  
he suffrid hard passioun vndir pounce pilate.

290 for to by man-kynd and mayntene trewthe.  
and so he was don on þe cros. and aftyr ded and <sup>Crucified, dead, and buried.</sup>

sethen his sowle went to helle and tok owt þe <sup>Descended into hell.</sup>  
sowlys

þat he ordeynyd to saue: be-fore þis world was made.

and sethyn vp-on þe thrydde day his sowle com to <sup>Rose again the third day.</sup>  
his body

295 \*and qwykyd hyt as be-forn. And ros owt of <sup>[fol. 45]</sup>  
þe sepulcre.

and sethyn whan he hadde efte tyme. schewyd to his disciplis his resurreccioun.

he steyȝ vp to heuyn as þey saw opunly. <sup>Ascended into heaven.</sup>

and þer he syttys now in best sete þat may acorde to man.

an þat ys callyd þe ryȝt syde of god þe fadyr. <sup>Sitteth at the right hand of the Father,</sup>

300 and at þe laste he schal come doun here to man. <sup>from whence He shall come to judge the quick and the dead.</sup>

and jugge sum to blysse. and oþer to helle  
for euer-more to be þere withoutyn dwellynge here.

The thrydde part of þis Crede be-gynnys at þe holy gost.

in wham we schul trow sethyn þat he ys god. <sup>Belief in God the Holy Ghost.</sup>

305 And .vj. artyculis ben knyt to þis part of þe Crede.

Furst we schul trow. þat þer ys general chirche of angelys and seyntys in heuyn. and of alle þat schul be sauyd.

and þis aftyr þe day of dom. schal be with-outen synne.

with here spowse in endles ioye. and iche on haue Ioye of oþer.

310 And noman here in erthe: ys parte of þis chirche. but if he come to heuyn be his holy lyuyng.

**T.** (*Nothing in original to correspond with L.*)

Hence in this life  
men have no cer-  
tainty whether  
they are part of  
the Church,  
which is only of  
those who should  
be saved.

It has three  
states:

Wandering (in the  
wilderness of this  
life).  
Sleeping in  
purgatory.  
Resting in heaven.

Hence evil popes  
and prelates are  
not members of  
this Church.

The Communion  
of Saints holds of  
each of these  
states;

and so the For-  
giveness of sins,

the Resurrection  
of the Body,

and the Life ever-  
lasting.

The five senses

**L.** *and þus men lakkys knowyng. wheþer þey ben  
partyes of holy chirche.*  
For þey schuld nat boste of heynes in here prelacy:  
But þey mot leue aftyr crist: ȝyf þey schul be  
sauyd.

315 For þus techis oure be-leue. how-euer antecrist  
werke./  
And so þis chirche. has þre statys be processe of  
tyme.  
Fyrst he wandrys here in erthe. *and* sethen he  
sleyps in purgatory.  
and aftyr he restys in blysse of crist þat ys here  
spowse.  
And so as sun men thynke. þese popys ne þese  
prelatys

320 ar nat part of holy chirche: but of synagoge [of  
*sathanas*]  
sythen þey mot leue aftyr crist. ȝif þey schul be  
sauyd./  
þus techis our be-leue. how-euyr antecrist gruechis.  
And schul we trowe so. þat eche parte of þis  
chyrche:  
commovys (*commonys*) and helpys othir. boþe here  
and in heuyn.

325 But in heuyn: þey schul yn reste haue ioye of  
here blysse.  
And so schul we trow þat eche part of þys chirche:  
schal haue ful remissioun of synne þat yt has don  
[and so arise] in body *and* in sowle [*at þe day  
of doom*].  
with glorye in ham bothe: and so euyr lyue in  
blysse. Amen.

330 **T**he be-houys to know þy fyue wyttys þe vttyr  
*and* þe ynnyr.

**L.** and to spend hem in good vse: *and* in þe louyng must be used to the praise of God;  
of god./

þe fyrst ys. syȝt of eye. þe toþer. heryng of Ere. the five outer senses:  
þe þyrd. tast of Mowþ. The ferþe smellyng of nese.  
þe fyfte \*handlyng or towchynge of membris. [fol. 5]

335 Kepe so þy syȝt: þat þou se nothyng sight,  
þat ys not leful to se or may harme þy sowle.  
and kepe þy heryng so: þat þow here no euyl speche hearing,  
or þyng þat is nat honeste ne profitable./  
and kepe so þy tast. þat þou swolow no more taste,

340 þan ys nede or myster to þy bodily sustynaunce.  
And kepe so þy smellyng. þat yt make þe nat to smell,  
ete ouer moche./  
ne delite not ouer mekyl in smellyng. ne vgge þou  
not with seknesse of þyn euyn-cristyn.  
And kepe so þy towchynge: þat þou with-draw þe and touch.  
fro schameful towchynge  
or handlyng bare of man. or of womman.

345 handyl þou not vnhonestly þy self. ne noon oþer.  
ne let non oþer towche þe vnhonestly.  
For ȝif þy flesche neghȝe ony towching vnclene:  
þou may not þe dede ethwe or eschewe.//

**T**hese ben also þy fyue Inwyttys. The five inner senses:  
350 **W**yl./ Resoun./ Mynd./ ymaginacioun. and  
thoght.

lok þat þy wyl. be good *and* holy. will,  
and loke þat þy Resoun rewle þe. *and* nat þy reason,  
fleschly lust./  
and loke þat þy Mynde. be good *and* honest. memory,  
And lok þyn ymagynacioun be spedynge in louyng imagination,  
of god.

355 *and* not be set to harm or schame.  
And loke þy thowȝt be groundyd in þe ioy of thought.  
heuyn:  
and drede þe peyne of helle.  
and þynk not ouer mekyl in þe vanite of þe world.

Enumeration of  
"the six things:"

**T.** The lawe and the lore to knawe god all-mighten,  
52 That principali may be shewed in *this sex thinges*:

1. The Points of  
belief.  
2. The Command-  
ments.

3. The Sacra-  
ments.  
4. The works of  
mercy.  
5. The chief  
virtues.  
6. The deadly  
sins.

And these all  
curates are bidden  
to teach, and  
require all within  
their cures,

In *the fourtene poyntes* that falles to *the trouthe*,  
In *the ten comandemente*ʒ that god has gyven us,

55 In *the seuen Sacrement*ʒ that er in hali kirke,  
In *seuen dedis* of merci until oure euen-cristen ;  
In *the seuen vertues* that ilk man sal use,  
And in *the seuen dedely sinnes* that man sal refuse.

**T.** And he comandes and biddes in al that he may,  
60 That all that haues kepyng or cure undir him  
Enioygne thair parochiens and thaire sugettes,

That thai here *and lere* this ilk sex thinges,

**C.** articulos fidei, præcepta tam novi quam veteris  
testamenti, opera misericordiæ, virtutes principales, gratiæ sacra-  
17 menta et peccata <sup>1</sup>mortalia cum sua sequela ; et quod vice nostra  
injungant parochianis suis, viris et mulieribus, quod ipsi et eorum  
singuli præmissa omnia diligenter audiant et addiscant ; et quod  
20 hæc parvulos suos, filios et filias, clare doceant et ipsos ad hæc

<sup>1</sup> fol. 298.

**L.** But þynk deuowtly on þe passion of crist in wo /  
and in wele.

360 and he schal helpe þe in al þy nede./

These be þe wittys þe whiche god has geuyn vs  
to know hym *with*. and to rewle vs thorwȝ wysdam./  
*and* leue holy lyf as good seruauntys of god  
schuld do.

and eschewe perelys of synne. and so to come to  
þat Ioye:

365 þat god has ordeynyd vs to be made fore  
to þe wieche Ioy he vs brynge: þat deyde for vs  
vp-on þe rode. amen.

He has ordained  
for us.

**A**nd yf we wyl come þe ioye þat y (*haue*)  
spokyn of.

vs be-houys to know god almyȝty.

þe whyche principaly may be schewyd in þese vj  
thyngys

370 In þe xiiij poyntis of þe feyþ.

In þe ten comaundementys þat god has comaundyd  
to vs.

In þe .vij. Sacrementys þat be in holy chyrche

In þe seuen dedys of mercy to oure euyn-crystyn.

In þe .vij. vertues þat yche man schuld vse.

375 and in þe seuyn dedly synnes: þat yche man  
schuld refuse.

And he byddys. *and* \*comaundys in al þat he may.

[fol. 5 b]

þat alle þat has kepyng or cure vndyr hym.

schuld comaund *and* charge here parochenys *and*  
sogettys

þat þey here *and* lere: þese sex thyngys.

**P.** xiiii Fidei articulos; x. Mandata decalogi; duo  
Præcepta evangelii, videlicet, geminæ charitatis; et vii. etiam Opera  
21 misericordiae; vii. Capitalia peccata, cum sua progenie; vii. Virtutes  
principales; ac etiam vii. Gratiae sacramenta.

to teach them to  
their children.

Enquiry to be  
made in this  
matter,  
when they come  
to confession,

and that none  
may plead want  
of learning,  
they are put forth  
in English.

I. Points of  
belief:

the Godhead,  
the Incarnation.

1. Oneness of God.

**T.** And oft sithes reherce than til that thai kun thaime,  
And sithen teche than thair childir, if thai any haue,

65 What tyme so thai er of eld to lere than.  
And that parsons *and* vikers and al paroche prestes  
Enquere diligently of thair sugettes, in the lentyn  
tyme,  
When thai come to shrift, whethir thai kun this  
sex thinges,  
And if it be funden that thai kun thaim noght,  
70 That thai enȝoygne than opon his behalue,  
And of Payne of penaunce for to kun than.  
And forthi that nane sal excuse than  
Thurgh unknalechyng for to kun than,  
Our fadir the Ercebisshop of his godenesse  
75 has ordayned *and* bidden that thai be shewed  
Openly on inglis o-monges the folk.

¶ Wharefore onentes the first of this sex thinges,  
That is, to know the articles that falles to the trouth,  
Als gret clerkes techis *and* shewes in thair bokes,  
80 Thare falles un-to the faithe fourtene poyntes  
Of whilk seuen falles to goddes godhede,  
*And* othir seuen falles to christes manhede.  
The first poynt that we sal trowe of the godhede  
Is to trowe stedefastly in a trew god,

**C.** addiscenda compellant; et quod saltem in singulis quadragesimis  
dicti curati parochianos suos an hæc sic didiscerint et sciverint, et  
sic liberos suos instruxerint, examinent, exquisite injungentes non  
parentibus in hac parte pœnitentiam salutarem, quam pro tempore,  
25 prout eorum requirit inobedientia, studeant aggravare.

Et ne quis super hiis per ignorantiam se valeat excusare, hæc  
sub verbis planis et incultis, ut sic levius in publicam deducantur  
notitiam, fecimus annotare.

¶ PRIMO SCIENDUM EST quod secundum theologos xiiij. sunt  
30 articuli fidei, quorum septem pertinent ad divinitatem, et septem  
ad Christi humanitatem.

¶ Primus Articulus pertinens ad divinitatem est in unum  
Deum credere firma fide.

**L.** and ofte reherce hem tyl þey cun hem.  
 and sethen teche hem to here childyr yf þey ony  
 haue.  
 what tyme þey be of elde.  
 And þat personys vicars *and* parysch prestys  
 a-spye besily of here sugetys in þe lentun tyme

385 whan þey come to schryft yf þey know *and* cunne  
 þese sex thyngys.

And yf it be found þat þey cun hem not :  
 þat þey charge hem on godys behalue  
*and* of peyne of penaunce for to cun hem.

And for non schuld excuse hym

390 of vnkuñys for to cun hem :  
 oure fadyr þe archebyschop  
 haþ ordeynyd *and* biddis þat þey bo schewid  
 opunly on englysch tongue among þe pepyl.

wher fore aȝens þe fyrste of þese sex thyngys  
 395 þat is to knowe þe artyculys þat fallyþ to þe trewþe  
 as gret clerkys techyn. *and* schewyn in here bokys  
 ¶ Ther falle to þe feyþ. xiiij poyntys.  
 Seuen falle vn-to godys godhed.  
*and* oþer seuen vn-to cristys manhed

400 **T**he fyrst poynt þat we schul trowe of þe godhed. ·1·  
 ys to trow stedfastlyche in o trew god.

**P.** Et ne quis a predictis per ignorantiam se excuset, quae tamen  
 omnes ministri Ecclesiæ scire tenentur, ea perstringimus summaria  
 25 brevitatem.

Sciendum est igitur VII esse fidei articulos pertinentes ad mys-  
 terium Trinitatis, quorum quatuor pertinent ad Deitatis intrinseca,  
 tres vero ad effectus.

Primus est, Unitas Divinæ Essentiae in trium Personarum  
 30 indivisibili Trinitate, juxta illud, *Credo in unum Deum.*

**T.** And that name othir is for to trowe in.

2. The Father is very God.

**The tothir** is, that the hegh fadir of heuen  
Is stedefast and sothefast god almighty.

3. The Son is God equal with the Father.

**The third** is, that Iesu crist goddes son of heuen  
Is sothefastly god euen til his fadir.

4. The Holy Ghost proceeding from the Father and the Son, is very God, equal with Them both.

90 **The ferthe poynt** is, that the hali gast,  
That samenly comes of bothe the fadir *and* the son,

Nevertheless not three Gods, but three several Persons and One God.

Is sothefastly god, and euen til tham bothe.

And though-whetherir noght twa goddes the fadir  
and the son,

Ne thre goddes the fadir, *and* the son, *and* the haligast,

95 Bot thre se[r]e persons and noght bot a god.

**The fift point** is, that the trinite

Fadir *and* sone *and* haligast, \*thre persons and a god,

5. The One and Triune God is  
[fol. 295 b]  
maker of heaven and earth and all things.

Is maker of heuen *and* of erthe *and* of all thinges.

6. The Church is holy and one, the fellowship of all Christian people in sacraments and other gifts.

**The sext poynt** is, *that* halikirk our modir

100 Is hali and allane thurgh-out the world,

That is communyng and felawred of al cristen folk,  
That communes to-gedir in the sacrament;

And in othir hali thinges that falles til halikirk,  
In forgyfnes of synnes, and hele of thair saules,

Out of the Church  
is no soul safe.

105 For withouten halikirke nis na saule hele.

**C.** ¶ **Secundus** est credere Patrem omnipotentem esse Deum.

¶ **Tertius** est credere Dominum nostrum Filium ejus unigenitum esse Deum.

¶ **Quartus** est credere Spiritum Sanctum esse Deum, et sic credendum est Patrem et Filium et Spiritum Sanctum esse unum Deum.

40 ¶ **Quintus** est credere quod trinus et unus Deus est creator celi et terrae.

¶ **Sextus** est credere sanctam ecclesiam catholicam et sanctorum communicationem, quae consistit in congregacione et communione fidelium, et sacramentis ecclesiae et aliis quibus communicat ecclesia

45 Christiana, ita quod extra istam ecclesiam non est salus.

**L.** *and noon oþer ys to trow yn.*  
 The toþer ys þis þat þe heyz fadyr of heuyn ·2·  
 is stedfast and sothfast god almyȝty.

405 The thrydde ys þat iesu crist godys sone of heuyn ·3·  
 is sothfast god. *and euyn tyl his fadyr./*  
 The ferthe poynt ys þat þe holygost. ·4·  
 þat to-gedyr commys of hem bothe. þe fadyr *and*  
 þe sone  
 ys sothfast god. And euyn to hem bothe.

410 and nat two goddys þe fadyr *and* þe sone:  
 ne thre goddys. þe fadyr *and* þe sone *and* þe holy  
 gost:  
 But þre personys. *and* nat but on god./  
 The fylte poynt ys þat þe trinite. ·5·  
 fadyr *and* sone *and* holy gost. thre personys *and*  
 on god

415 ys maker of heuyn *and* erthe. *and* of alle þyngys  
 þat vnder heuyn be./  
 The .vj. poynt ys. þat holy chirche oure modyr ·6·  
 ys holly on thorwȝ-owt þe world  
 þat ys comenynge and felaschype of alle cristyn folk  
 þat comynys to-gydyr in þe sacrament

420 *and* in oþer holy þyngys þat falle to holy chirche:  
 In forȝevynge of synnes and hele of here sowlys.  
 For withowten holy chirche is no soule heyl.

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**P.** Secundus est, Patrem credere ingenitum esse Deum.  
 Tertius est, Filium credere unigenitum Dei esse Deum.  
 Quartus est, credere Spiritum Sanctum nec genitum, nec ingenitum esse Deum, sed a Patre et Filio pariter procedentem.

35 Quintus est, quod creatio cœli et terræ, hoc est, omnis visibilis et invisibilis creaturæ, est a tota indivisibili Trinitate.  
 Sextus est, sanctificatio Ecclesiae per Spiritum Sanctum, et gratiae sacramenta, et cætera omnia in quibus communicat Ecclesia Christiana. In quo intelligitur, quod Ecclesia cum suis sacramentis

40 et legibus per Spiritum Sanctum omni homini, quantumcunque peccatori, sufficit ad salutem, et quod extra Ecclesiam non est salus.

7. The resurrection and everlasting life of the bodies and souls that are sundered by death until the day of judgment.

**T.** The seuent article that us awe to trow  
 Is uprisyng of flesh, and lyfe withouten end,  
 For when that dede has sondred our bodies and  
 oure saules  
 For a certeyne tyme, als our kynde askes,  
 110 Unto when that god sal deme the quick and the  
 dede  
 Than our saules sal turne ogayn til our bodies,  
 And we, thas ilke, and naneothir than we er now,  
 Sothefastly sal rise up in bodi and in saule  
 That neuermare sal sondir fra that tyme forthe,  
 115 Bot samen, if we wele do whiles we er here,  
 Wend with god to that blis that euermare lastes,

And als if we ivel do, til endeles payne.

The Incarnation  
 of Christ.

1. Conceived by  
 the Holy Ghost,

and born of the  
 Virgin Mary  
 without marring  
 her motherhood,  
 or loss to her  
 maidenhood.

2. God and Man,  
 but one Christ,

¶ THARE ER OTHIR SEUEN POYNTES of cristes manhede  
 That er nedefull to trowe til al that er cristen.

120 ¶ The first is, that Iesu crist, goddes sone of heuen,  
 Was sothefastely consayued of the maiden mari,

And toke flesh and blode, and become man  
 Thurgh might and strenth of the haligast  
 Withouten ony merrying of hir modirhede,  
 125 Withouten ony mynnyng of hir maidenhede.

¶ That othir poynt, that we sal trow  
 That he, god and man bathe in a person,

**C.** ¶ **Septimus est** credere carnis resurrectionem et vitam aeternam, videlicet, quod omnes in die judicii sumus in carne et anima veraciter surrecturi, et tunc erit aeterna gloria electorum et damnatio perpetua reproborum.

50 ¶ **Primus articulus pertinens ad Christi humanitatem** est vera Christi incarnatio, videlicet, quod Dominus noster Iesus Christus Filius Dei unigenitus conceptus est de Spiritu Sancto sine virili semine ex Maria Virgine incorrupta.

¶ **Secundus est** ipsius Domini nostri Ihesu Christi sic incarnatus  
 55 nativitas ex dicta Virginea gloriosa.

**L.** The .vij. articule þat vs owe to trow .7.  
his vp-rysynge in flesch *and* lyf *with*-owtyn ende.  
425 For whan þe deþ. haþ sundryd \*oure bodyes *and* [fol. 6]  
oure sowlys.

Fro þat tyme vn-to þe tyme þat god schal deme þe  
qwyk *and* þe dede.

þan oure sowlys schal turne aȝen to our bodyes.  
and we schul þe same *and* non oþer þan we ar now  
sothly ryse vp in body. *and* in sowle

430 þat neuer more schal sundyr fro þat tyme forthe  
boþe to-gydyr. ȝyf we weel do whyl we be here  
wende to god or with god in-to blysse þat euer  
more schal laste.

And yf we ywyl do: to endles peyne.

**Alij. vij. de humanitate Cristi./**

**T**hese ben oþer seuen poyntys of cristys manhed  
435 þat ar nedful to trow to al þat ar criston.  
The fyrste ys þat iesus crist godyssone of heuyn  
was conseuyd of þe maydyn marie be vertu of þe  
holy gost.

And tok flesch *and* blod. *and* be-com man  
thorwȝ myȝt *and* strenthe of þe fadyr of heuyn

.1.

Christ conceived  
by the Holy Ghost,  
became Man  
through the power  
of the Father,  
without marring  
the maidenhood  
of the Virgin,

440 withowtyn ony marryng of hyr maydynhed.

The oþer poynt ys þat we schullen trow / .2.  
þat he god *and* man in on persone

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**P.** Septimus est, consummatio Ecclesiæ per gloriam æternam, in  
anima et in carne veraciter resuscitandæ: Et per oppositum  
intelligitur æterna damnatio reproborum.

45 Item septem alii pertinent ad Christi Humanitatem.  
Primus est, Incarnatio, seu vera carnis assumptio ex sola, per  
Spiritum Sanctum, Virgine gloriosa.  
Secundus est, Vera Incarnati Dei nativitas ex Virgine incor-  
rupta.

begotten of the Father before time was,

and born of His mother in time.

3. Endured bodily sufferings for sinful man, and death on the cross.

4. When His Body was buried, His Spirit, with His Godhead, went down to Hell,

and released those whom in His foresight He willed to be saved.

5. Rose from the Dead very God and very Man;

by His death hath destroyed death, and by His rising again hath restored to us everlasting life.

**T.** Was sothefastly born of that blissed maiden, Godde, geten of his fadir before ony tyme,  
130 And man borne of his modir and brought forthe in tyme.

¶ **The third poynt** that we sal trowe is eristes passion,  
That he tholed bodily for synfulman kynd,  
Howe he was traised with his disciple, *and* taken with Iues,  
Beten with skourges that no skyn held,  
135 Nailed and (*on*) the rode, and eorouned with thornes,  
And many othir hard paynes, and died atte last.

¶ **The ferthe article** is, that when he was dede,  
And his bodi tane doun, and wonden, and doluen

Yit, to whiles that his bodi lai in the graue,  
140 The saule with the godhede went untill hell,  
And heried it, and toke oute thas that wer his,  
Als Adam *and* Eue, and othir forme-fadirs

Whilke he in his forloke wold that wer sauued.

¶ **The fift poynt** is, that on the third day  
145 Aftir that he died, he ras fra dede un-to lyue,  
Sothefast god, and man in bodi and in saule,  
For als he died in sekenesse of our manhede,  
Als he ras thurgh strenthe of his godhede,  
And so destryeyd our dede thurgh his dieyng,  
150 And whikend us un-to lyf thurgh his risyng.

**C.** ¶ **Tertius est** vera Christi passio, qui, ut genus humanum ab æterna morte, cui fuit obnoxium, redimeret, gratis sustinuit asperritam mortem crucis.

¶ **Quartus est** descensio Christi ad inferos in anima, quiescente 60 corpore in sepulcro, ut inde suos eriperet quos redemit.

¶ **Quintus est** vera Christi resurrectio qui tertia die post passionem suam, solutis inferni doloribus, a mortuis resurrexit.

**L.** was sothfastly born of þe mayden Marie.

god getyn of his fadyr be-fore eny tyme

445 and man born of his modyr: *and* browȝt forþ in  
tyme.

The þryd artycule. þat we schul trow ys crystys ·3·  
passiouȝ

þat he suffryd bodyly for synful man-kende.

and how he was betrayd with his owyn dyscyeple.

*and* takyn with þe iewys.

betyn with scorgys: þat no skyn held hool.

450 *and* naylyd hym to a cros. *and* crownyd hym with  
thornys.

and many oþer harde paynys he suffryd. and deyde  
at þe laste./

The ferþe artycule ys. þat whan he was ded ·4·  
*and* hys body takyn doun. *and* woundyn *and*  
leyde on a toumbe

ȝit whilys hys body lay on þe graue:

455 þe gost with þe godhed: went in-to helle.

*and* harwyd hyt. *and* tok owt þo þat were þerynne  
as Adam *and* Eue. *and* oþer former fadrys  
þe whiche thorwȝ original synne were in þat place.  
and þat he: thorw his forlok wold were sauyd.//

460 The .v. poynt ys. þat on þe thyrd day ·5·  
aftyr þat he deyde: he ros fro deþ to lyue:  
sothfast god *and* man in body *and* in sowle.  
For as he deyde in seknesse of our manhed:  
so he roos thorwe strengthe of þe godhed.

465 And destroyd oure deþ: thorwȝ hys dyynge.  
*and* qwyknyd vs vn-to lyf: thorowȝ hys rysyngē./

**P.** Tertius est, Vera Christi passio, et mors in cruce sub Pilati  
tyrannide.

52 Quartus est, Descensio Dei ad inferos in anima, quiescente  
corpore in sepulchro, ad spoliationem Tartari.

Quintus est, Vera Dei resurrectio.

6. Ascended into heaven,  
where He in our nature is not only "equal unto the angels," but crowned with honour above all angels, that for a while was made lower than angels.

7. He shall so come in like manner to judge the quick and the dead according to their works.

**T.** ¶ The sext poynt is, that we sal trowe,  
That the fourties day aftir that he ras  
Thurgh strenght of him-self he stegh in-till heuen,  
Where our kynd is now in his blissed person,  
155 Noght anely euen no mete to his angels,  
Bot hegher crouned kyng aboue all angels,  
That before-tyme was lesse than kynd of angels.  
¶ The seuend poynt is, that right als he died,  
And aftirward ras *and* stegh in-till heuen,  
160 Right swa sal he cum opon the last day.  
Bathe forto deme the quick and the dede;  
Whare all the folk that euer was, or is, or sall be,  
Sal sothefastly be shewed *and* sene befor him,

And ilkman answer of his owen dedis

165 And be dampned or saued whethir-sum he de-  
serves,  
For als his rightwisenesse is now menged with  
mercy,  
So sal it than be withouten merci.

The Ten Com-  
mandments.

¶ THE SECUND THYNG OF THE SEX TO KNAWE god  
almighten  
Is the ten comandement3, that he has gyuen us,

The first table our  
duty to God.

170 Of the whilk ten, the thre that er first  
Augh us haly to hald onentes our god,  
and the seuen that er aftir, onentes our euen  
cristen.

The second table  
our duty to our  
neighbour.

**C.** ¶ Sextus est vera Christi ascensio ad cœlos, qui quadragesimo die post resurrectionem suam ascendit in cœlum.

65 ¶ Septimus est adventus Christi ad judicium certissima expec-  
tatio, et tunc, qui bona egerunt, ibunt in vitam æternam; qui vero  
mala, in ignem æternam.

¶ SECUNDO DECEM SUNT MANDATA A CUNCTIS FIDELIBUS INVIOLA-  
BILITER OBSERVANDA, quorum tria ordinantur ad Deum, septem vero  
70 ad proximum.

**L.** The syxte poynt ys. we schul trow  
 þat þe .xl. day aftyr þat he roos.  
 thorwȝ strengthe of hym-self: \*he stey in-to heuyn. [fol. 6b]

470 wher oure kende ys now in his blyful person  
 not only euyn *and* mete to his angelys:  
 But hyȝ crownyd kyng a-bouyn alle angelys.  
 þat be-for-tyme was lasse þan þe kende of angelys.  
 The vij. poynt ys *and* þe laste: þat ryȝt as he dyid  
 475 and aftyrward roos. *and* steyȝ in-to heuyn.  
 ryȝt so schal he come doun vp-on þe laste day.  
 Bothe for to deme þe qwyk *and* þe dede  
 For alle folk þat euer was. or ys. or schal be:  
 schal sykyrly be schewyd. and scyn be-fore hys face.

480 þat day.  
 And ylke man answere for his owne dedys.  
 and be dampnyd or sauyd. wher-so þey haue  
 seruyd.  
 For as his ryȝtwysnesse ys now mengyd *with*  
 mercy:  
 so schal yt þan be. *withowtyn* mercy.//

485 **H**e secunde thynge of þe syx to know god  
 almyȝty  
 ys þe ten commaundementys. þat he has  
 gcuyn to vs.  
 of þe whiche þe thre þat arn furst. we owe to  
 oure god./  
 and þe seuen oþer aftyrward we owe to oure euyn  
 cristyne.

**P.** Sextus est, Vera ipsius ad celos ascensio.

56 Septimus est, ipsius venturi ad judicium certissima expectatio.

Item deceim Mandata veteris testamenti, quorum tria ordinantur  
 ad Deum, quae dicuntur mandata primae tabulæ: Septem vero ad  
 59 proximum, quae dicuntur secundæ tabulæ mandata.

Thou shalt have  
none other gode.

**T.** ¶ The first commandement charges us *and techis*  
174 That we leue ne loute nane fals goddes,

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**C.** ¶ **Primum mandatum est**, Non adorabis Deos alienos ; in  
64 quo prohibentur principaliter omnis idolatria,

**Primum mandatum /**

**L.** Thou schalt haue o god *and* no mo./      } **Non adorabis**  
 490 Ouyr al thynge loue hym al-so./      } **deos alienos.**  
 And þy neghebore bothe frend *and* fo./

**T**hys ys þe fyrste of godys comaundementys./      } **Those that live in**  
 þou schalt not worschype fals godys.      } **sin worship false**  
 þo þat leue in gret synne as pryd. Couetyse./      } **gods,**

495 Gloteny./ *and* such mo. worschepyn fals godys.  
 For god seys be **Job** þat þe fynd ys prince of alle **Job. 41.**  
 þe childryn of pride./ And **Iesu crist** says in þe **St. John 12.**  
 gospel. þat þe fend ys prince of þe world þat ys of      } **31.**  
 fals men. þat loue more þe pride and þe falshede  
 500 of þis world: þan þe trewþe of godys lawe herfore **eph. 5. 1.**  
 seyþ seynt **Poul.** þat Couetyse ys worschepyng of  
 fals godys. And so glotony make þeyr bely here **phit. 3.**  
 god. To þys ende seynt **Austyn** *and* seynt **Ierom.**  
 wytnessyn þat what-euer a man bowys most to.      } **and so of what-**  
 505 þat thyng he makys hys god. Therfore prude men      } **ever men are most**  
 worschepyn pride. *and* so þe fynd for here fals      } **inclined to.**  
 god. and so of alle oþer synnys.

¶ The two cherubynns þat schadewyd in **archa dei. exo / 25. cº** / were not set þer to be wor-  
 510 schypyd: But for to meve þe chyldryn of israel  
 to haue mende of god in heuyn. *and* pray to hym  
 þat he \*wolde sende down his Angeþ to teche  
 hem wyt *and* wysdam þat ys be-toknyd be che-  
 rubyn. And also to meve hem to pray to god.  
 515 þat he wold send to hem. angelys fro heuyn to  
 fyȝte aȝenst here enmrys: whan þey were hard be-  
 stad. *and* so he dyde ofte as holy wryt wytnessyþ.  
 4 regm. 19 cº. / **ysayº 37 cº.** The [n]eddyr of bras  
 was set in þe oste: for two skyllys. þe ton was þat  
 520 whan þe childryn of israel lokyd þer on: þei

The cherubims  
 that over-  
 shadowed the  
 mercy-seat were  
 not for the wor-  
 ship of the Israel-  
 ites;

[fol. 7]

nor the brazen  
 serpent.

**P.** In *primo* prohibetur omnis idolatria, cum dicitur, *Non habebis*  
*Deos alienos coram Me:* in quo prohibentur implicite

And herein are  
forbidden idol-  
atries, enchant-  
ments, and all  
evil arts.

**T.** And in this commandement is forboden us  
Alkyns mysbileues, and al mawmetries,  
Al fals enchaunmentez, *and* al sorceries,  
All fals charmes, and all witcheerrafetes ;  
All fals coniurisons, *and* al wicked craftes,  
180 That men of mysbyleue traistest opon,  
Or hopes ony help in, withouten god almighty.

**L.** schuld haue mynde of godis godnesse. *and þanke*  
*hym þat he wold hele hem of þe styngyng of þe*  
*[n]eddrys. An oþer skyle was. whan þe pepyl lokyd*  
*on þe [n]eddrys of bras: þey schuld be war! and kepe*  
*525 hem-self þat þey brak no more godys comaundementis*  
*lest þat þe same vengance come azen.*

¶ For to kepe þis comaundement yt ys nedful *þat*  
*þou beleve sadly! þat þer ys but O god in trinite.*  
*fadyr and sone and holy gost. thre personys and*

530 o god. This god is most myȝty þyng *þat* may be.  
*The most wytty. and most ryȝtful! and most ful*  
*of goodnesse. mercy! and charite þerfore þou*  
*most drede hym. & hys offence be-fore al oþer*  
*thyngys For he knowyþ al þyng preuy and apert*

535 And most nedys punysche al maner synne in *þis*  
*world or in purgatory. or in heþ. And no creature*  
*may be a-gayn his iuste punyschynge. and for hys*  
*endles godnesse. þou most loue hym with al þyn*  
*herte. and seke his worshipe. and plese hym be*

540 fore alle oþer thyngys If þou do *þis* wel! *þou*  
*most stody to kepe his comaundementys and his*  
*lawe be-fore alle oþer preceptys and lawes maad*  
*of men for ellys þou louyst not hys lawe be-fore*  
*oþer. and so not hym-self be-fore al oþer thyngys*

545 Also þou most forsake al maner wyecheraftys. *and*  
*coniuryng of fendys. and þat þou seke nat trewthe*  
*of dede spiritys. but only of god. and his lawe as*  
*he comaundys hym-self in his lawe*

Who brekys *þe* fyrste maundement! Prowde  
*550 men. wordly men. and fleschly men. Why prowde*  
*men. For þey make *þe* deuyl here god. Why*  
*wordly men. for þey make worldly godys here god.*  
*and why fleschly Men for þey make hero bely*  
*here god.*

**P.** omnia sortilegia, et omnes incantationes cum superstitionibus char  
*62 raeterum, et hujusmodi figmentorum.*

What is needed is  
 a firm belief in  
 One God in  
 Trinity,

and a fear of  
 offending Him.

God's law to be  
 obeyed rather  
 than man's.

Breakers of this  
 commandment.

The second (third) commandment.  
Thou shalt not take the name of God in vain.

**T.** ¶ **THE SECUND COMMANDEMENT** biddes us noght take In ydelship, ne in vayne the name of our god, So that we trow noght in his name, bot that is stedefast;

185 That we swere noght be his name but behouely; And that we neuen noght his name but worshipfully.

---

**C.** ¶ **Secundum est, Non assumes in vanum nomen Dei tui,**  
in quo prohibetur principaliter omnis heres, et secundario omnis  
77 blasphemia et irreverens nominatio Dei nostri.

## Secundum Mandatum

[fol. 7 b]

**I.** In ydyl godys name tak þou nogth } Non assumes nomen  
556 swere be no þyng þat god haþ wrought. } dei tui in vanum.

**T**he secunde comaunderement ys þis. Thou schalt sin after baptism  
is breaking this  
commandment,  
for we then re-  
nounce the devil  
and all his works. not take þe name of þy lord þy god in vayn.

Here alle men or wymmen þat turne to grete  
560 synnes aftyr here cristendom. in þat þey taken þe  
name of god in vayn. For at here cristendom þey  
forsake þe fynd *and* alle his pompis. hys pride.  
*and* alle hys werkys of synne *and* of falsnesse. and  
bynde hem wylfully to goddys hestys. þan ȝif þey  
565 turne aȝen to þese synnys yt ys in vayn þat þey  
take goddys name vþ-on hem. But yf þey amende  
hem wylfully in þis lyf. For ellys þey schal haue  
more Payne withowte ende. as seynt **Petyr** seyþ

.2a. pe. 2o.

Also whan men seye godys seruyse in gret hate  
570 *and* envye with owte deuocioun *and* reuerence: And so of saying  
our prayers when  
out of charity.  
þey take godys name in vayn. for þey aske here  
owne dampnacioun in seyyng of þe **Pater noster**.

Also prestys þat sey masse *and* oþer seruyse of þe  
chirche in dedly synne not for reuerence *and*  
575 deuocioun of god: but for couetyse *and* veyn  
glorye takyn þe name of god in veyn. For þey  
resseyue þe sacrament to here dampnacioun. as  
Seynt **Poul** seys

Priests in mortal  
sin saying mass  
or other public  
service for the  
sake of gain or  
display take  
God's name in  
vain.  
[1 Cor. xi, 29.]

.cor. ii.

¶ Also in vayn sweryng *and* nedles. fals men  
580 take þe name of god in vayn.

¶ Also men in gret statys. be þey spiritual be  
þey temporal. þat gourne not þese statys aftyr þe  
lawe of god in destroyenge of synne *and* wrongys.  
*and* maytenyng of ryȝtwysnesse *and* good lyf of  
585 þe pepyl. taken þe name of god in vayn. For in  
as mochie. as þey take þese offyceys or statys. / in þat

Men in high office  
in Church or  
State,  
who do not rule  
according to the  
word of God,  
take His name in  
vain; for by  
taking these  
offices they

**P.** In secundo, cum dicitur, *Non assumes nomen Dei in vanum*:  
prohibetur principaliter haeresis universa, et secundario, omnis  
66 blasphemia, irreverens Dei nominatio, præcipue in perjurio.

Keep holy Sunday and other holy days of the Church; **T.** ¶ The third is, that we sal hald and halowe our haliday,

188 The Sonunday, and all othir that falles to the yhere, That er ordayne to halowe thurgh halikirk,

---

**C.** ¶ **Tertium est, Sabbata sanctifies** in quo præcipitur tam clericis quam laicis, omissis operibus servilibus, vacare divino cultui 81 diebus dominicis et festivis.

**L.** þey be þe mynystris of god. to do ryȝtwisnesse and bere down wronges and synne. and to be myrour. and ensampyl of holynesse and ryȝtwysnesse to 590 alle men vndyr hem

þerfore be war þat neuer þou swere fals. ne ydyl. ne be ony creature. but only be god in tyme of nede: for to schewe nedful trewþe and profyt-able to þe and to oþer men. For god commandys 595 þat oure word be: ȝe ȝe. nay nay. þat þe herte and þe mowþ acorde togydyre. And whan we speke of þe name of god or Iesu: þat hit be don: with drede reuerence and loue.

¶ Who brekys þe secunde comaundement. veyn [fol. 8] 600 spekeris. ydyl swererys. and fals werkerys./ why veyne spekers. For here wordys be not nedful. why ydyl swererys. For here oþrys be not nedful. why wikkyd werkerys. For here werkys. Be not spedful./

**K** epe þy nalyday in clene lyf. } **Sabbata sanctifices.** 605 with alle þy meyne. and þy wyf. }

**T** he thyrde heste is þis. Be-thynk þe to kepe .3<sup>m</sup>. man-datum. 610 made heuyn and erthe and alle creaturys of noȝt nat for his nede: but only for his goodnesse. and made angelys and men to be resonable. and to vndirstonde þe godnesse of god and to be partyners of þe blysse of heuyn./

¶ Whan man was mad in þis degré of nobley

**P.** In tertio, cum dicitur, *Memento ut sabbata sanctifices*; præcipitur cultus religionis Christianæ, ad quem indifferenter clerici et laici tenentur. Ubi etiam sciendum est, quod obligatio ad feriandum in 70 sabbato legali, secundum formam veteris testamenti, expravit omnino cum cæteris in lege cæremoniis: et successit in novo testamento modus vacandi cultui Divino diebus Dominicis, et cæteris diebus solennibus ad hoc auctoritate Ecclesiæ deputatis. Quibus diebus vacandi modus non est sumendus a substitutione Judaica, 75 sed a canonicis institutis.

become ministers of God.

Swear only in the cause of truth and charity.

[fol. 8]

Breakers of the commandment.

How to keep holy day: by calling to mind God's goodness in the creation;

and, whether  
clerk or layman,  
hear or say divine  
service in honour  
of God and His  
saints,

**T.** In whilk daies all folk lered and lawed  
191 Awe to gyf tham godeley to goddes seruice  
To here it *and* say it aftir thair state is  
In worship of god almighty *and* of his gode  
halowes,

L. and worthynesse he brak goddys comaundement the love of Christ  
 615 in paradys. and was boundyn to bodily deth. and and His dying for  
 peyne of helle Tyl iesu crist! made rannsoun with fallen man;  
 his herte blod on þe cros./ þerfore haue mynde of  
 þis charite of crist and peynful deth./

¶ Also haue mynde! how ofte þou hast brokyn and thy sins, and  
 620 godys hestys. sytthe þou haddyst dyscrecioun of be contrite, and  
 good and euyl. and of þis amende þe be verry confess thee, and  
 contricion schryft and satisfaccion. And if þou hast make satisfaction;  
 don ony good dede wele! þank god þerof. for his and thank God  
 grace hit was. and not þou þy-self./ and pray hym for good works,  
 625 þeue þe grace to laste and ende trewly in hys done by His grace,  
 seruyse. and not thine own strength.

¶ þann here þou goddys seruyse with reuerence Hear matins and  
 and deuocioun. and seye deuowtly þy pater noster. mass, and say the  
 and þy beleue and þyn Aue maria./ and oþer Lord's Prayer,  
 630 deuowt prayeris yf þou can. And here godys lawe Hail-Mary, and  
 tawȝt in þy modyr tonge. For þat is bettyr to Creed.  
 þe! þan to here many massys. Aftyrward ete and Hear an English  
 drynk in mesure./ and þank god of his ȝyfte. sermon rather  
 than many masses, and eat and drink in moderation with  
 thanksgiving.

¶ Aftyr noon gyf þe not to nyse vanytes Afterwards make  
 635 and pley. but loke wher þy neyȝebours ben at peace between  
 debat! and acord hem be meknesse and charite neighbours, and  
 ȝif þu may. For it is bettyr þan to bylde many that is better than  
 chirches. building churches.

¶ þan visyte þy neyȝeboris þat arn bedreden. Then comfort the  
 640 blynde and crokyd. and in oþer dysesys. and sick and dis-  
 comfort fyrst here sowlys þat þey falle not in despayre tressed with  
 ne grucchygge a-gayn þeyre godys visitacioun. spiritual consel-  
 For yf þey \*do! þey shal haue more peyne in ation,  
 þis world. and in helle euer./ and ȝif þey take þis  
 645 lytyl peyne paciently! þey schul haue remyssioun  
 of here synnes befor don in þe blysse of heuyn  
 with-owten ende.

¶ þan ȝeue hem of þy catelle to susteyne lcre and thy worldly  
 lyf as þow woldyst! þat þey schulde helpe þe yf goods, as thou  
 wouldest be done

without clinging  
to the world, or  
living in the lusts  
of the flesh.

**T.** Noght than for to tent to tary with the world,  
195 Ne lyue in lykyng ne lust that the flesh yernes,  
Bot gladly to serue god in clenesse of life.

Honour thy father  
and mother,

**¶** The ferthe biddes (\*)us to do worship to fadir  
and to modir,  
198 Noght only to fleshli fadir *and* modir  
That getes *and* fosters us forthe in this world,

**C.** **¶** *Quatum mandatum est, Honorare patrem et matrem,*  
in quo mandato intelliguntur pater et mater non solum carnales, sed  
etiam spirituales, videlicet praelati et alii curati qui sunt patres  
spirituales fidelium ; mater vero ecclesia catholica, cuius sunt filii  
85 universi Christiani ;

**L.** þou were in þe same myschef and þey in bonchef by in the like evil case.  
651 as þou art now./

¶ But men dredys sore þat on þe haly day  
whan schulde most worschype god þan þey dispysse  
hym most be hauntyng of pryde *and* alle oþer  
655 synnes *and* make that þe deuelys worke-day.  
worsse þan eny oþer day in þe weke.

¶ Who brekys þe thyrde maundement. Men Breakers of this commandment.  
þat thenk not on god hertyly. And men þat pray  
not to god devoutly. And men þat do not werkys  
660 of mercy wysly. Whi men þat thenk not on god  
hertyly. For þey occupy here hertys in vanites.  
Why men þat pray not to god devoutly For þey  
worschipe hym *with* here lyppis: *and* not *with*  
here hertys. Whi men þat do not þe werkys of  
665 mercy wysely. For þey don here almes more to  
þe nedles: þan to þe verry nedys.

¶ Quartum. Mandatum.

**F**adyr and modyr worschipe both.// 1<sup>us</sup>. pater } Honora. {  
with counseyl confort. and mete and cloþ.// } Parentes. {  
**T**he ferthe comaunderment is þis. worschipe þy  
670 fadyr *and* modyr. Holy wryt spekys of þre  
fadrys. The fyrist ys god þat made vs alle of noȝt. *and* loue hym. *and* seke hys honour *and*  
drede þis fadyr *and* his offense before alle oþer  
thyngys. *and* loue hym. *and* seke hys honour *and*  
675 do his wylle be-fore al oþer thyngys. For god says  
be þe prophete þe sone schal honour þe fadyr.  
*and* þe seruaunt schal drede hys lord. þerfore ȝif

**P.** *Primum secundæ tabulæ est, Patrem et matrem explicite, principaliter, et specialiter honorare: implicite autem, et secundario, omnis homo pro sui gradus merito ex eodem mandato intelligitur honorandus. In hoc autem mandato non solum intelligitur pater et*  
80 *mater carnaliter, verum etiam spiritualiter: ut pater sit prælatus Ecclesiæ mediatus vel immediatus; mater autem Ecclesia, cuius filii sunt filii Catholici universi.*

## T.

[fleshli fadir and modir

That getes and fosters us forthe in this world,]

and thy spiritual  
father, and holy  
mother Church;

200 Bot til our gastly fadirs that has hede of us,  
And techis us how to lif til hele of our saules.  
And til our gastly modir, that is halikirke  
To be buxom thar-to, and saue the right of it,  
For it is modir til all that cristenly lyfes,

205 And alswa til ilk man that worshipfull is,  
for to do worship aftir that it is.

and order thyself  
reverently to thy  
betters.

**L.** y am ȝour fadyr: where is myn honour. *and loue.*  
ȝyf y be ȝour lord: where is my drede.

680 ¶ the secund fadyr is þy gostly fadyr. þat haþ **.2<sup>us</sup>. pater**  
cure of þy sowle. and þou schalt loue hym hertely.  
*and* do hym reuerence in word *and* dede and do  
aftyr his techynge in þat: þat he techys þe godlys  
lawe. And pay hym tyþys *and* offryngys dewe.

685 wilfully. redyly. and trewly. *and* styre hym and  
confort hym to do hys offys \*trewly in sad  
techynge of holy wryt. *and* opyn ensampyl of  
holy lyf. For yf he do nat his offys wel: he is a  
þowsand-fold more cursyd þan suggettys wyþ-  
690 drawyng here tythis. ȝe: whan curatys don wel  
here offys. **[fol. 9]**

Follow his teaching  
in so far as  
after the law of  
God,  
and pay thy tithes  
and support him  
in the discharge  
of his office.

¶ The thyrde fadyr *and* modyr ar þy bodily **.3<sup>us</sup>. pater.**  
fadyr *and* modyr þat browȝt þe forþ in-to þis world  
and þou schalt drede hem *and* reuerence hem. in  
695 wil word *and* dede. / and in here nede help hem  
with þy catel. *and* þy trauayle. *and* spende þy  
flesch. *and* þy blood: for here sustinaunse. as þey  
dyde for þe whan þou myȝtyst noȝt. And ȝif þou  
do þis wel. þou schalt haue godlys blessyng. and  
700 all hys angelys. *and* of alle good men *and* wymmen  
in erthe. And if þou do nat þis worschype: þou  
schalt haue godlys curs: *and* alle hys seyntys. *and*  
of alle good men *and* wymmen in erthe.

Honour thy bodily  
parents,  
and aid them with  
thy means.

¶ And alwey haue mende on þe sorwe *and* þe  
705 trauayle þat þy modyr had with þe in beryng. *and*  
norschyng for þe. and þerfore. loue here and do  
here reuerence in al þy lyf vp-on godlys blessyng.

Forget not thy  
mother that bore  
thee, as thy hope  
is for God's bless-  
ing.

¶ Who brekys þe fourþe comaundement. vn-  
kende men. Froward men. *and* rebel men. / Whi  
710 vnkende men. for þey helpe not. here eldrys as þey  
schuld do. / Why froward men. For þey wil take  
no gostly techynge. Why rebel men. For þey ben  
vnþuxum to cryst *and* his chyrehe. /

Breakers of this  
commandment.

Thou shalt do no  
murder, of body,  
or reputation;

nor withhold  
the necessaries of  
life, if thou hast  
wherewithal.

**T.** ¶ The fifth biddes us that we sla naman,  
That is at say, bodili ne gastly nouthir,  
For als mony we sla, in that at we mai,  
210 Als we sklaundir or bacbite or falsly defames,  
Or fandes for to confound them that noght serues,  
Or withdrawes lyuelade fra them that nede haues,  
If we be of haueing for to help them.

---

**C.** ¶ Quintus est, **Non occides**, in quo prohibetur nedum hominum  
occisio, sed etiam vis injusta, proximi laesio tam spiritualis, quam  
91 corporalis. Spiritualiter enim occidunt, qui proximis detrahunt, et  
indigentibus denegant alimenta, et qui per malitiam opprimunt  
innocentes.

**L.** **S**le noman with wykkyd wyl: } **Non Occides**  
 In word ne dede. lowde ne styl: }  
 715 **H**e fyfte comaundement ys þis. þou schalt not **Quintum**  
 sle. vndirstonde þou wrongwysly noþer man **Mandatum**  
 ne womman ne child: neþer cristyn ne Extends to hea-  
 heþyn. ne be fals hate. of herte. ne euyl sterynge. thens, and the  
 ne courseylynge þerto ne doyng of dede: ne inciting of others.  
 720 mayntenynge of oþer mysdoers þerto. But loue  
 yche man parfyly in charite as þy self.

¶ Also þou schalt not sle þyn owne sowle be Self-murder of  
 consent to dedly synne. ne oþer menys be opyn the soul by mortal  
 sklaundyr. and mayntenynge in synne. For who- sin.  
 725 so-euyr doys þus: ys cursyd of god: and alle his  
 seyntys.

¶ Also froward prelatys and curatys. sle [fol. 9 b]  
 \*mennys sowlys and bodyes be wythdrawynge Spiritual murder  
 of godys word. and ensample of holy lyf. For þey by neglect of life  
 730 may not lyve gostly in fayþ and oþer vertuys: but and doctrine.  
 be heryng and kepynge of godys word And þey  
 ar bounde vp-on peyne of dampnacioun to teche  
 þus godys word þat ys fode of mannys sowle.

¶ Also bakbyters and sowers of fals lesynggys Backbiting and  
 735 þat bryngge men at debat. and owt of charite lying, strife-  
 am wykkyd men-sleers. For þey sle boþe bodys stirring.  
 and sowlys som tym many thowsandys.

¶ Also wikkyd extorsioneris and fals oppressoris Extortion that  
 of pore men sle þeyr bodys wrongfully and her makes poor men  
 740 sowlys be gruechygge and vnpaciens and blasphem- blaspheme.  
 ynge of god whan þey take awey falsly þeire godis  
 be þe whiche here bodely lyf schuld be susteynyd.

¶ Also gret lordys and prelatys þat schulde Rulers in State  
 withstonde þe opun mysdoers. and do nat. but and Church

**P.** *Secundum est, Non occides.* In quo explicite inhibetur illicita  
 personæ interemptio, commissa verbo, opere, vel favore: implicite  
 85 vero personæ injusta lesio inhibetur. Spiritualiter autem occidunt,  
 qui detrahunt, vel qui innocentes opprimunt vel offendunt.

Thou shalt not  
commit adultery,  
with kin or  
stranger, single  
or married.

**T.** ¶ The sext commandement forbedes us to syn  
215 Or forto foly fleshli with any woman  
Outhir sib or fremned, wedded, or unwedded,  
Or any fleshly knawyng or deid haf with any,  
othir than the sacrement of matermoynescuse,  
*And the lawe and the lare of halikirke teches.*

---

**C.** ¶ **Sextum est, Non mœchaberis, in quo prohibetur incestus**  
et omnis fornicatio, [*et omnis commixtio viri et mulieris*] quam sacra-  
95 mentum matrimonii non excusat.

**L.** *raþer meyntenys hem þer-yn ar cursyd mensleers* upholding actual offenders.  
 for þey fauor and mayntene al þis. seþyn þey be  
 bowndyn to amend al þis. and may lyȝtly do hit  
 and do hyt not.

¶ Who brekys þe fyfte maundement. Envyous  
 750 men. wraþful men. and auerous men./ Why envious  
 men. For þey haten here breþeryn. Why wraþful  
 men. For þey bakbytyn here breþeryn. and why  
 auerous men. For þey help not here euyn crystyn.

**S**ynne þou not in lecherye } Adultery,  
 755 Consent þou not to þat foly }

**P**e sexte comandement ys þis. Thou schalt  
 not do lecherye noþer in consent in hert ne inward or out-  
 spekyngne ne in countenaunce withowte-forþ. ward, by act or  
 ne doyng in dede. excusyng and iustyfyyng and  
 760 mayntenys of oþer men þeryn. Noþer in doyngne of single or mar-  
 of symple Fornicacioun be-twix sengyl man and ried,  
 sengyl womman. Noþer in avowtry. ne in brek- or vowed to  
 yngne of chastyte. þat ys þe moste synne of alle chastity.  
 oþer. And ȝyt þe lest of alle þre ys dampnable.  
 765 who-euer do yt with-owtyn ful repentaunce. as  
 seynt Powl says.

¶ Also froward ordynaries. and confessouris Accursed sin  
 þat norschyn men in þis synne for annvel rent. of spiritual judges  
 oþer worldly wynnynge. and bodily welfare. and shrift-fathers

770 bre\*kyn cursydly þis heste. For þey sellyn [fol. 10]  
 sowlys to satanas for a lytyl worldly dryt. and in condoning  
 zeue hem leue to roty forþ in þis cursyd lecherye incontinence for  
 fro ȝere to ȝere. as longe as þey wyl pay mekyl. fixed money pay-  
 Or help to bere hem vp in extorsiouns ments or their personal interest.

**P.** *Tertium est, Non mæchaberis.* In quo explicite inhibetur adul-  
 terium, et implicite fornicatio, quæ explicite prohibetur in *Deutero.*,  
 xiii. ubi dicitur, *Non erit meretrix de filiabus Israel, nec scortator de*  
 90 *filiis Israel.* Inhibetur etiam in eodem mandato omnis commixtio  
 viri et mulieris, quam bona matrimonii non excusent. Omnis  
 etiam voluntaria pollutio prohibetur, quocunque modo studiose vel  
 voluntarie procurata.

Thou shalt not  
steal.

**T.** ¶ The seuent comandement biddes us noght stele ;  
221 In whilk is forboden robbing *and* reuyng,  
All wrangwise takyng or withhaldyng,  
Or hiding or helyng of othir men godes  
Ogayne thaire wit, and thaire will that has right  
to tham.

---

**C.** ¶ **S**eptimum est, **N**on facies furtum, in quo prohibetur omnis  
illicita contractio et detentio rerum alienarum contra voluntatem  
98 dominorum vel custodum earumdem.

**L.** ¶ To kepe þe fro lecherry haue mynde how foul þy body schal be: whan *that* schal be wormys mete. and how gret peynys of helle. þou schalt suffre. but yf þou amende þe. Therfore fle ydlynesse and occasions to þis synne. and Maystyr þy 780 flesch be trauayle wakynge and prayeris./

¶ Who brekys þe sexte comaundement Fornycatouris. Auowtereris. and holours./ why fornycatours for þey defoulyn here bodyes in lecherry whyls þey ben sengyl. why avowtererys? For þey 785 brekyn þe sacrament of wedlok./ and why holours? For þey wastyn here bodyes in lecherry.

**S** tele þou not þy neyȝborys þyng } Theft,  
from owners,  
with byinge sellynge ne wrong-getyng }

790 **T**He seuynt commaundement ys þis. Thow schalt do no þeft. þat ys mys-vsynge of þyngys aȝen þe lordys wyl or aþeyng./ Than seþyn alle creaturis ar goodys. who euer mys-dispendys myȝtys of sowle or body or ony oþer goodis agaynst godys law: ys a strong thef 795 be godis ryȝtful dom. what-euer þe word flaterys./

¶ Also alle þat vsyn to dysseyue her neyȝbors be fals mesurys. fals weyȝtys and deceytis and fals oþes: arn strong þefys and bakbyters be godys lawe and mannys./ and ar holdyn to make resty- 800 tucioun aftir here power and leue of boþe of þese synnys and of oþer./

¶ Also al þo þat wast here godis in glotony druckenenesse. pride. and lecherie. and in oþer vanytes: be parlows theuys. for þey stele fro pore 805 men here sustynaunse./ For þe resydue of þese godys ouer here owne nede: ys pore mennys lyf-

**P.** *Quartum est, Non furtum facies.* In quo explicite prohibetur clandestina detractio rei alienae invito domino: implicite vero 96 omnis injuriosa, seu per fraudem, seu per usuram, seu per violentiam, seu per metum, rei usurpatio alienae.

Thou shalt not  
bear false witness  
against thy  
neighbour.

**T.** ¶ The aughtand biddes us we shall bere  
No fals wittenes ogayne our euen-cristen ;  
In whilk is forboden al maner of lesyng,  
Fals conspiracie, and forsweryng.  
Whare-thurgh our euen-cristen mai lese thair catell,  
230 Faith, favour, or fame, or any thing elles,  
Whethir it be in gasteli or bodili godes.

---

**C.** ¶ Octavum est, Non loqueris falsum testimonium contra proximum tuum, in quo prohibetur omne mendacium et per-  
101 jurium, maxime quod aliis est damnosum.

**L.** lode./ and he þat defrawdys þat good: is a thef  
and a man-qweller as þe wys man seys./

¶ Also al þo. þat drawe riche mennys almes.  
810 fro pore bedrede men and pore febyl and crokyd  
and blynde vndyr colour of holynesse to hem þat  
haue no nede þer-to: arn strong theuys. and \*man-  
qwellers. for þey take þe godys agayn godys lawe.  
be whyche: pore men schuld be norischid. and so  
815 þey ar thefys agayn ryche men and pore, and robbe  
men of feyth and good beleue.

Withdrawing  
alms from the  
poor on the pre-  
text of holy uses.

[fol. 10v]

¶ Also lordys and maystrys þat wyþholdyn  
here seruaunt hyre whan þey haue trewly do here  
seruysc: ar strong þefys be goddis lawe./

Lords and mas-  
ters withholding  
servants' wages.

820 ¶ Also seruauntys þat falsly do here maystir  
werke and take fully here hyre arn thefys be godis  
dom. Also alle þat do falsly here offyce spiritual  
or temporal. and takyn here fulle profyt þerfore:  
ar thefys be godis dom.

Servants taking  
their masters'  
wages, and not  
doing work truly.  
All that falsely  
do their office.

825 Who brekys þe seuynt comaundement. Me-  
chers. Robbers. and extorecioners. Why mechers.  
for þey stelyn priuyl. Whi robbers. for þey robbyn  
opynly. whi extorecioners. for þey spoylyn men of  
here good falsly.

¶  
Breakers of this  
comandment.

830 **F**als wytnesse þow noon beere }  
þy neybore wyttingly to dere }  
[T] he eyȝten comaundement is þis. þou schalt  
not speke fals wytnesse ageyns þy neybore.

False witness for  
love or hate,  
fear or favour,  
is renouncing God  
and going over to  
the devil;

And he þat for-swerys hym for hate. or for loue.  
835 drede or wynnyngc: for-sakys god almyȝty and be-  
takys hym to þe fend body and sowle. and to peyne  
with-owt ende Namely al þo. þat constreyne men  
to for-swere hem be here gret lordschip and power.  
and gretly rewardys hem þerfore.

and specially of  
those who force  
men to this sin.

**P.** *Quintum mandatum est, Non loqueris contra proximum tuum falsum testimonium.* In quo explicite prohibetur falsa testificatio  
100 ad indignum contra merita promovendum. In hoc etiam mandato  
omne mendacium, sed perniciosum præcipue, condemnatur.

Thou shalt not  
covet thy neigh-  
bour's house or  
land,

nor his wife,  
maid or servant,  
ox or ass, or any  
of his *bona  
mobilia*,

**T.** ¶ The neynd is, that we noght yerne our neghebur  
house ;  
In whilk is forboden all urangwise couatise  
Of land, or of lithe, or of ought elles,  
235 That mai noght be lifted ne raised fro the ground,  
Als thing that is stedefast, *and* mai not be stirred.  
¶ The tend and the last is, that we yerne noght  
The wife of our neghebur, ne of our euen-cristen,  
Ne his maiden, ne his knaue, his ox nor his asse :  
240 In whilk is forboden us to yerne or to take  
Ony thing that may be stirred of othir men godes,

**C.** ¶ Nonum est, Non concupisces domum proximi tui, in  
quo prohibetur cupiditas cuiuscunque rei immobilis proximi tui.  
¶ Decimum est, Non desiderabis uxorem ejus nec servum  
nec ancillam, non bovem, non asinum, nec omnia quæ ipsius  
105 sunt, in quo omnis cupiditas rerum alienarum mobilium con-  
demnatur.

**L.** ¶ Also al þo þat lyes on crist. seyyng þat he was wordly lord. as clerkys ar now[.] breke fowle þis heste. For crist hym-self seyþ. þat his kyngdom ys not of þis world. and of his kyngdom schal neuer be ende Also alle þat sey. þat cryst beggyd

845 of men. as sum religious dos now! bere fals wyt- nesse agayn crist oure best neyȝbore. For be goddis owne commaundement. among his pepyl schuld no begger be./ and ȝyt crist nedyd not to begge þus.

850 ¶ Also alle þo þat seþe þat newe religious foundyd of seyntis ys better þan glene religious of priesthod þat crist made hym-self arn fals witnesse. and blasphemys god.

Who brekys þe eyȝten maundement. lyers

855 glosers. and fals qwestmongeris. Whi lyeris. for þe[y] hatyn þe trewþe. why glosers. For þey hydyn þe trewthe. And why fals qwestmongeris. For þey sellyn þe trewthe./

**T**hy neyȝbours wif coueyte þou noȝt! {

[fol. 11]

860 **T** with here to synne in dede ne þoȝt. {

**T**hy neyȝboris hows. wenche ne knaue {  
Coueyte hem noȝt. ne his goodys to haue }

865 **T**[h]e nynthe comaundement and þe tenth ar these. Thow schalt not coueyte þy neyȝ- borys wyf. ne his hows ne his seruaunt ne his maydyn./ ne his oxe ne his werk-best. ne ony thyng þat ys his. For þe rote of synne and wrong couetyse stondys in þe herte./ Therfore god for- bedys! euyl couetyse and wyl of helle. For ȝif

It is a gross breach of this commandment to assert that our Lord exercised secular lordship, like the clergy;

or that he begged, like the mendicant orders;

or to exalt the regular orders, monks or friars, founded by saints, above clean livers in the priesthood, instituted by Christ himself. Breakers of this commandment.

**P.** *Sextum mandatum est, Non concupisces bonum proximi tui: supple, cum ejus injuria. In quo mandato implicite inhibetur cupiditas possessionis immobilis, Catholici eujuscunque præcipue.*

105 *Septimum mandatum est, Non desiderabis uxorem proximi tui, non servum, non ancillam, non bovem, non asinum, nec omnia quæ illius sunt. In quibus verbis omnis cupiditas possessionis rei alienæ quantum ad res mobiles condemnatur.*

or chattels not  
our own of right;

nor is there abso-  
lution without  
making satisfac-  
tion,

nor in cases re-  
served, except by  
the bishop or his  
commissary.

**T.** As robes or richesse, or othir catell  
That we have no gode title, ne no right to.  
For what thing so we gete, or tas on othir wise,  
245 We mai noght be assoiled of the trespass,  
Bot if we make assethe in that at we may  
To tham that we harmed, withholdand thair godes.  
And in cas that we have thurgh fals athes,  
Als in assizes or othir enquestes  
250 Wittandy and willfalli gere our euen cristen  
Lese thaire patrimoyne, or thair heritage,  
Or falsly be desesed of land or of lithe,  
Or fals diuorce be made, or any man dampned,  
Of all we do, that we may, unto the party,  
255 Yit may we noght be assoiled of our false athe,  
Bot of our bisshop or him that has his power,  
For swilk cas is riuely reserved til him seluen.

**C.** ¶ Et sciendum est quod injusti contractores rerum alienarum,  
et qui per potentiam aut cautelas alias faciunt maliciose et injuste  
homines perdere quæ sunt sua, absolvit non possunt, donee damni-  
110 ficatis satisfaciant juxta vires, quia non dimittitur peccatum nisi  
restituatur ablatum. Sed qui sunt perjuri in causis matrimoniali-  
bus et in juratis et in assisis, ubi de morte hominis, mutilatione  
membrorum, vel exhaeredatione agitur, etiamsi læsis satisfecerint,  
absolvit non possunt ab inferiori, quam ab episcopo suo diocesano,  
115 vel ab eo cui episcopus super hoc specialiter commiserit vices suas.

**L.** þat be wel kepte fro euyl desyre of oþer mennys  
goodys yt ys lyȝt to hold owt alle wrongis *and*  
harm *and* synne. And þow þe world know þe not  
or punysch þe not for þy trespass: ȝit leue al for  
drede *and* reuerence of god. And if þou fynde  
875 ony thyng þat þy neyȝebore haþ lost: restore yt  
agayn. For ellys it is þefte as seynt Austyn seys./  
And yf þou breke þese comaundementys or ony of  
hem alle. also (*al so*) sykyr as god ys god. but þou  
amend þe in þis lyf. þou schalt be dampnyd in helle  
880 in body *and* sowle withouten ende. þow þou haue a  
þowsand bullys of pardoun lettris of fraternite and  
Chauntres aftyr þy deth. And also (*al so*) sekyr as  
god ys god. ȝif þou kepe wel þese comaundementis  
þou schalt haue þe blysse of heuyn in body *and*  
885 sowle with-owten ende. þow þou haue neuer bulle  
of pardoun./ ne letter of fraternite. ne Chauntr  
aftyr þy deþ. Therfore kepe hem wel. *and* do þe  
werkys of mercy. to þe nedy pore neyȝebours. and  
þe erytage of heuyn ys þyn be graunt of cristys  
890 gospel. aselyd *with* his precious blod þat may neuer  
be fals: for no creature in erthe ne in heuyn.

Who brekys þese to comaundementes *and*  
þe laste./ þey þat wrongfully coveytyn ony thyng in  
herte: þow þey don yt nat in dede. And þey þat  
895 wrongfully in herte coveytyn. *and* to here power  
don hit in dede. And also þey þat han in herte  
lust *and* lykyng of suche wrongful coveytyng.

Contra concupiscentes domum proximi &c

ysa. 5<sup>o</sup>. deut<sup>o</sup>. 5<sup>o</sup>. / 19<sup>o</sup>. / 27<sup>o</sup>. / 3<sup>o</sup> re[gum]. 21<sup>o</sup> de  
900 acab. concupiscente vineam naboth./

Restore things  
lost.Punishment for  
persistent breach  
of commandments  
is altogether as  
sure as God is  
God.Endless bliss for  
keeping them  
without the pope's  
pardon, or being  
enrolled in an  
order, or masses  
sung after death.Breakers of the  
two command-  
ments against  
coveting.Latin note.  
Examples of  
covetousness.

T. (*Nothing in original to correspond with L.*)[fol. 11 b] Latin note.  
Examples of  
adultery.

**L.** \*Contra adulterium. exo. 20 / deut<sup>o</sup> 22<sup>o</sup>.  
prouer. 6<sup>o</sup>./ sapien. x<sup>o</sup>. 2<sup>o</sup> reg. 11. / 12./ Adulterium  
david fuit multipliciter punitum. p[rim]<sup>o</sup>. puer con-  
ceptus in illo adulterio fit mort[u]us propter hoc pec-  
905 catum. [H]aman filius suus congnouit thamar soro-  
rem suam. et propter hoc absolon interfecit eum./  
Item absolon fugauit patrem suum & regno./ et  
prius congnouit decem vxores dauid patris sui in  
ierusalem./ et deturpauit eas in conspectu populi.

Rhymed promise  
to those who keep  
the command-  
ments.The joys of  
heaven,

and pains of hell.

910 **T**hese ar þe comaundementys ten  
þat god ȝaf to alle men:  
Mekyl ioy schal be to hem.  
þat kepe wel and trewly hem.  
For schul be callyd godys sonys. or his douȝtris  
915 and schulle regne with crist here god and here  
fadyr in his mageste and so be broȝters and sus-  
trys with angelys. and lyk to hem þat ar bryȝter  
þan þe sunne bemys./ schynynge euer in ioy with-  
outen ende. Ful wo þan schul þey be þat for sake  
920 swyche a cumpany þer merthe lastys euyr. for a  
schort delyt of þe flesch: and for a lyte wyl of þo  
herte þat he wyl not ȝeve to hys god. And aftyr-  
ward for þat schort delyt brenne in helle fyre as  
longe as angelis and holy seyntis make mery in  
925 heuyn with here lord god þat is euer-more. And  
þan schulle þey sey eehe tyl oþer thorwȝ trew dom  
of god. wo to vs. wo to vs: euyr brennynge in  
bytter fyre. For we haue deseruyd non oþer hyre.  
and þerfore derknesse haþ swolwyd vs. þat we  
930 schul neuer se: þe day of amendynge. ¶ Ther-  
fore kepe we þese comaundementes of god in drede  
of hym: þat we forȝete hem not. For whan man  
dredys not: he sone forȝetys þat he schulde do./  
Therfore kepe we þese comaundementes and god  
935 schal þanke vs. For who-so kepis hem with al

**L.** his herte : he doþ more kendenesse to god : þan  
 ony broþer may do to anoþer And also yf he  
 kepe hem not he doþ to god more vnkendenesse  
 þan ony broþer may do to anoþer. For more vnk-  
 940 kendenesse may no man do : þan for to grucche  
 and set lytyl pris be þe comaundement of his lord  
 þat is his maker. and made hym thorwe his kenden-  
 nesse lyk to hym-self in schap. and to haue þe  
 blysse of his godhed And yf we with-stond þat  
 945 lord þat made vs for oure owne profyt : we do þe  
 most vnkendenesse þat may be wroȝt. Therfore  
 ho-so felys hym agreuyd in ony of þese : his  
 medcyn most \*be to amende hym and breke ham  
 no more in as moche as he may and be euer sory  
 950 whan he thynkys þat he has brokyn ony of hem  
 not only for þe peyne þat he haþ deseruyd : but  
 for he haþ greuyd god so vnkendely. And þan þe  
 grace of god schal lyȝt vpon hym And blyssid be  
 such a remedy þat þorwȝ foul wyl vnkendely :  
 955 and wykkyd is wroȝt : þorwȝ ordeynynge of good  
 wil. ys forȝevyn. And yf þou wilt ordeyne þy wil  
 to haue forȝenesse : loke þou withstande sadly  
 þe furst begynnynge of þe temptacoun of þe fend  
 and not consent to hym for nothyng with þy wyl.  
 960 whan þou art temptyd and þan þou schalt lyȝtly  
 ouercom hym and þou schalt ioye be-for god : for  
 þat good wyl. For as many temptaciouns as þou  
 withstondis for godys sake : as many crownyss  
 wynnyst þou of god. Fayn þan may þou be to  
 965 thynk whan þou art temptyd. and sey to þy self.  
 a[!] now I may chese wheþer I wyl falle with a  
 heuy byrden toward helle : and y consent to þe  
 fend : Or ellys to be lyfted vp with a glorious  
 corone toward god / Ilke man þat haþ resun : wot  
 970 wheþer ys better to chese. And þerfore no man  
 may be excusyd. /  
The unkindness  
of not keeping the  
commandments  
of God,  
who has shown  
kindness to us.  
The remedy  
thereof.  
[fol. 12]

**T.** ¶ This ten Comandementz that I haue nowe rekend  
These ten commandments are comprehended in the two commandments of the Gospel.

Er umbilouked in twa of the godspell,

LUCE x<sup>o</sup>. CAP<sup>o</sup>.

260 The tane is we love god ouer al thinges,  
The tothir that we love our euen-cristen als we do  
oure selven.  
For god augh us to love halye with hert,

With al our might, with al our thought, with word  
and with deid :

Our euen-cristen alswa augh us to loue

265 Un-to that ilk gode that we loue us selven,

That is, that thai welefare in bodi *and* in saule,  
And cum to that ilk blisse that we think to.  
Who-so dos this twa fulfilles the othir.

The seven sacraments,

¶ **THE THIRD THING OF THE SEX** that I first touched  
270 Is the seuen sacramentz that halikirk gifes

**C.** ¶ **Hæc autem decem mandata prædicta** in duobus mandatis  
Evangelii virtualiter includuntur, quæ duo sunt dilectio Dei et  
proximi.

¶ Deum enim debet quilibet Christianus principaliter ex toto  
120 corde diligere, et plus amore quam timore; et proximum suum  
sicut seipsum, id est ad omne bonum ad quod diligit semet ipsum.

¶ Et qui hæc duo perfecte observat, omissa decem mandata  
adimpler.

124 ¶ **Tertio sciendum, est quod tres sunt virtutes principales**

[*The authorized English does not here keep to the order of the original Latin, where the Theological and Cardinal Virtues come after the Commandments, and before the Sacraments.*

*For the sake of more easy comparison, the lines here omitted, C. 126—151, are printed with the English, but the lines are numbered as they follow in the original. Post page 76.]*

152 ¶ **Quarto septem sunt gratiæ sacramenta**, videlicet baptismus, confirmatio, eucharistia, pœnitentia, extrema unctionis, ordo,

**L.** ¶ These ten comaundementis þat y haue reknyd.  
ar closyd in two of þe gospel./

The on ys þis. þat we loue god ouer al þyngis./  
975 þat oþer is: þat we loue oure owyn evyn-cristyn  
as oure self./

God vs owe to loue for hym self holly with al  
oure herte.

with myȝt: and with al oure thoȝt with word. and  
with dede./

Also we owe to loue oure euyn-cristyn for god.  
and to coueyte. and to wille hem þe same good þat  
we loue oure self to.

980 þat is: þat þey wel fare in body and sowle.  
and com to þat blysse þat we þynke to come to.  
who-so doþ þese two: fulfillyþ al þe oþer./

**P**e þrydde þyng of þe sex to know god almyȝti  
ys þe seuyn sacramentys / of holy chirche  
þat he geuys

**P.** His autem decem mandatis duo superaddit evangelium : Dil-  
tione in scilicet Dei et proximi.

111 Deum diligit, qui dicta mandata ex amore, non timore poenae,  
principaliter custodit. Proximum autem debet quilibet diligere,  
sicut semetipsum. Ubi haec conjunctio "sicut" non dicit aequali-  
tatem, sed conformitatem, ut videlicet diligas proximum tuum ad  
115 quod te ipsum, hoc est, ad bonum, non ad malum; et quomodo  
te ipsum, hoc est, spiritualiter, non carnaliter, secundum quod  
carnalitas dicit vitium. Item quantum te ipsum, hoc est, in pros-  
peritate et adversitate, sanitate et infirmitate. Item quantum  
te ipsum respectu temporalium, pro tanto; ut plus diligas omnem  
120 hominem et singulum, quam omnem affluentiam temporalium.  
Item sicut te ipsum, pro tanto, ut plus diligas proximi tui animam,  
sen animae salutem aeternam, quam tuam vitam propriam tem-  
poralem; sicut animae tuae vitam debes vitae tuae carnis preponere.  
Item qualiter te ipsum, ut videlicet omni alii in necessitate sub-  
125 venias, sicut tibi velles in necessitate consimili subveniri: haec  
omnia intelliguntur, cum dicitur, diligas proximum tuum sicut  
te ipsum.

Septem etiam sunt *Gratiæ Sacra menta*, quorum dispensatores  
Ecclesiæ sunt prælati, quorum Sacramentorum quinque debent

**T.** Thurgh prelates and othir prests that has *the power.*

Including matri-  
mony.

Of whilk seuen, the first fyve ilk a *cristen man*  
Augh lawfully to take aftir his eld is;

Baptism

275 ¶ The first sacrament of seuen is our baptisme,  
That we take the first tyme that we becum *cristen*,  
In whilk bathe the first syn that we er born  
with,

washes away  
original and  
actual sin.

And alkyn othir syn, is wasshen oway,  
that we er filed with ar we take it;

280 And the trouthe of halikirk is taken thare-in  
Withouten whilk na synfulman saule may be  
saued.

Four conditions  
necessary to the  
right adminis-  
tration.  
1. Form of words.

And to this sacrament falles foure thinges,  
If it sal rightly be taken als halikirk techis:  
Ane is right saying *and* shap of the wordes

285 That him augh for to sai, that gyffes this  
sacrement

That er thise: **I BAPTIZE THE IN THE NAME  
OF THE FADIR & THE SON, & THE HALI GAST.**

2. In water.

¶ Another is, that it be done anely in water,  
For nanothir licour is leuefull tharfore.

**C.** et matrimonium; quorum quinque prima ab omnibus debent  
recipi Christianis, sed duo ultima ordo, videlicet, et matrimonium  
156 sunt voluntaria.

¶ Et ista sacramenta sunt per praelatos et sacerdotes tantum-  
modo dispensanda: excepto solo sacramento baptismi, quod in  
articulo necessitatis potest et debet a quacunque ("quocunque."  
160 MS.) persona indifferenter ministrari, viro vel etiam muliere, ser-  
vatis omnino quatuor conditionibus infrascriptis.

¶ In baptismo quidem deletur omne peccatum tam originale  
quam actuale; et fides suscipitur sine qua nemo salvari  
potest.

¶ Sunt autem in baptismo quatuor principaliter observanda:  
166 viz. forma verborum, ut Ego baptizo te in nomine Patris et Filii  
et Spiritus Sancti.

¶ Item quod fiat in aqua et non in alio liquore.

**L.** þorwȝ prelatys. and oþer prestys þat haue power  
þerto./

986 Of whyche seuen þe fyrste fyue eche man cristyn  
owe lawfully to take aftyr þat he old ys./  
And tuo ly in here wil þat resseyuit hem.

The fyrste sacrament of þe seuyn ys oure bapteme

990 þat we take furst. whan we be-come cristyn.  
in whiche byrthe. boþe þe fyrst syn þat we be  
born yn.

and al maner oþer synnys ar waschyn a-way!  
þat we be fowlyd yn! er þat we yt take.

And þe trewþe of holy chirche \*ys takyn þeryn.

[fol. 12 v]

995 withowtyn whiche no man þat is sinful in sowle  
may be sauyd.

And to þis sacrament fallyþ foure þynges  
yf it schal ryȝtful be take as holy chirche techys./  
On ys ryȝt seyyng and scharp of wordys  
þat hym owys for to say þat gyfys þis sacrament  
þe whiche ar these.

1000 I baptize þe In þe name of þe fadyr. and þe sone.  
and þe holy gost./

Anoþer is þat yt be don only in watyr  
For noon oþer lycour ys lefful þerfore.

**P.** recipi ab omnibus Christianis, utpote baptismus, confirmatio,  
131 pœnitentia, eucharistia suo tempore, et extrema unctionis,

[From this place **P.** is printed without reference to the proper sequence  
of the text, in order to correspond with **T.**]

3. Intention in the minister.

4. Not to be iterated,

[fol. 296 b]

but in case of doubt, to be administered with a conditional form.

In Confirmation bishops confer the grace of the Holy Ghost upon those who receive the Sacrament, to strengthen them against the devil;

and this only bishops, as successors of the Apostles.

Penance is genuine repentance.

**T.** ¶ The third is, that he that gyffes this sacrament Be in wit and in will for to gyff it.

¶ And the ferthe is, that he that takes it Be nouthir of lered, ne of lawed, baptized before; For if the prest be in were of him that sal take it,

295 Whethir he be baptized \*or he be noght, Than sall he sai the wordes opon this wise— If thou be noght baptized, I baptize the In the name of the fadir *and* the son and the haligast.

¶ **THE SECUND** sacrament is confermyng

300 That the bisshop gives to tham that er baptized, That giffes thurgh his power to tham that tas it

The grace and the giftes of the haligast To make tham mare stalworth than thai ware before

To stand ogaynes the fend, *and* dedely syn,

305 That nane has power to do bot bisshop allane

That has the state *and* the stede of *cristes* apostels.

¶ **The third** sacrament is cald penaunce,

That is sothefast forthinking we have of our syn

**C.** ¶ Item quod baptizans habeat intentionem baptizandi, et quod baptizandus non sit prius baptizatus.

¶ Et si dubium fuerit, dicendum est, Si non es baptizatus, Ego 172 baptizo te in nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti.

¶ **Virtus et effectus confirmationis** est conferre gratiam Spiritus sancti et virtutes homini baptisato, ad augmentum, fortificationem, seu roborationem contra diabolum et peccata.

176 ¶ Hoc autem sacramentum tantum dari potest ab Episcopis qui locum tenent Apostolorum.

[In the Latin of the Convocation, the Sacrament of the Eucharist follows Confirmation. See post page 66.]

180 ¶ **Poenitentia** est peccata plangere et ea ulterius non com-

L. The þrydde ys. þat he þat ȝeuys þis sacrament  
be in wyl *and* wyt for to ȝeue yt.

1005 ¶ The ferthe is þat he þat takys yt  
be nyþer of leryd ne lewd baptyȝed be-fore./  
And yf þe prest be in dowte of hym þat schal  
tak hit  
wheþer he be baptyȝid or noȝt?  
þan schal he seye þe wordys in þese wyse./

1010 ȝif þou be not baptyȝid? I baptyȝ þe  
in þe name of þe fadyr. *and* þe sone. *and* þe holy  
gost.

¶ The secunde sacrament ys confermynge  
þat þe byschop ȝyuyþ to hem þat ar baptyȝid  
in þe whyche he ȝeuyþ þorwȝ his power to hym  
þat takys hyt

1015 be þe grace *and* þe gyftis of þe holy gost  
þat is of godis graunt to make hem more stalworþ  
þan þey were be-fore.  
to withstonde þe fende *and* alle dedly synnys.  
That sacrament owys noon to do. but þe byschop  
alone.

þat hap þe stat *and* þe stede of cristys apostyl.

1020 ¶ The þrydde sacrament is clepyd Penaunce  
þat is soþfast forthynkyng þat we haue for oure  
synnys

The bishop, by the grace of the Holy Ghost, which is of God's grant, gives to those who receive the sacrament to be stronger than before.

P. 131 baptismus, confirmatio, pœnitentia,

**T.** Withouten will or thoght to turne ogayne to it.

And to this is required :

1. Contrition.

2. Confession.

3. Satisfaction.

And this behoues haue thre thinges if it be stedefast :

311 Ane is sorow of *our* hert that we have synned ;

Another is open shrift of our mouth how we haf synned,

And the third is rightwise amendes makynge for that we haf synned.

This thre, with gode will to forsake our syn,

315 Clenses us *and* wasshes us of alkyn synnes.

The Sacrement of the Altar is Christ's body, as whole as when he first took it.

It ought to be received at Easter,

**The ferthe** is the sacrament of the auter,  
Cristes owen bodi in likeness of brede,  
Als hale as he toke it of that blessed maiden ;  
Whilk ilk man *and* woman, that of eld is,

320 Aught forto resceyve anes in the yhere,  
That is at sai, at paskes, als hali kirke uses,  
When thai er clensed of syn thurgh penaunce,

except for reasonable cause, which must be made known to the minister.

Worthy reception is salvation, but unworthy is damnation.

Of Payne of doyng out of hali kirke.

Bot if thai forbere it be skilwise cause,

325 That aught to be knawen to thaim that sal gif it,

For he that takes it worthili, takes his salvation,

And who-so unworthili, takes his dampnation.

**C.** mittere, cujus tres sunt partes, scilicet cordis contritio, oris confessio, et operis satisfactio.

Contritio debet esse devota intima et amara.

¶ **Confessio** debet esse humilis, nuda, et integra, declarans 185 facti circumstantias peccatum aggravantes.

Satisfactio est libens et laeta injunctæ poenitentiae completio.

Sed frequens et amara debet esse peccati recordatio, per quod 188 quis ingrate suum presumpsit offendere Redemptorem.

178 ¶ **EUCARISTIA** est vivum corpus Christi : et illud, si digne sumatur, sumenti proficit ad vitam æternam, si indigne sumatur 180 ædificat ad gehennam.

**L.** wyþ-owt wyl or þoȝt to turne agayn þerto./  
And þis be-houys haue þre thyngys ȝif hit be  
stedfast./

On ys sorw of herte of þat þat we haue synnyd.

1025 Anoþer ys opyn schryft of oure nowþ how we  
haue synnyd.

The þyrde is amendys makyng for þat we  
haue do.

These þre with good wil for to forsake oure  
synnys

clensys vs and wesches vs of alle maner synnys.

¶ The ferþe ys þe sacrament of þe awter

1030 cristys owne body in lyknesse of bred.  
ryȝt as he tok yt. of þe blyssyd Maydyn **Marie**  
whiche euery man þat ys of elde!  
owe to resseyue onys in þe ȝere.

þat ys to seye at **Paske** as holy chirche vsyþ.

1035 whan þey ar clensyd clene of synn thorw;  
penaunce.

vp[on] peyne of doyng out of holy chirche.  
but ȝif þey for-bere yt for ony skylful cawse.  
þat owyþ for to be knowyn to hym þat schal ȝeue  
hyt.

For he þat takys yt worthyly takys hit \*to hys  
saluacioun.

1040 And who þat takys yt vnworþily! he takyþ hit  
to his da[m]pnacioun

The Body of  
Christ is just as  
He took it of the  
Blessed Virgin.

These who receive  
worthily, receive  
to their salvation;  
[fol. 13]

and those who  
receive un-  
worthily, to their  
damnation.

**P.** 131 pœnitentia, eucharistia suo tempore, et extrema unctione,

Extreme unction,  
or anointing of  
those of a reasonable  
age who  
appear to be in  
danger of death.

**T.** **The fift sacrament** is the last enoynting  
With oyle that is halowed *and* handeled of prest

330 To tham that he wate er of skillwise elde,  
And that he seis sikerly in peril of dede,  
In lightenes and alegeaunce of their sekenesse,  
If god wil that thai turne ogayne until hele,  
And als in forgyuenesse of venyale synnes,  
335 And in lessyne of payne, if thai passe hethen.

Rightful ordering  
empowers men to  
serve according to  
their degree,

**¶ The sext sacrament** of halikirke is Ordir,  
That gifes power to tham that rightwisely tas it  
For to serve in halikirk aftir thair state is,  
And to tham that takes the ordir of prest

and priests to  
minister the saera-  
ments allotted to  
them.

340 For to serue *and* for to minister sacrament; of  
halikyrk, that to tham falles  
Aftir the state that thai haue, *and* thair degree  
askes.

Matrimony joins  
together man and  
wife so long as  
they both shall  
live, as a remedy  
against sin and a  
means of grace.

**¶ THE SEVENT sacrament** is Matirmonye,  
That is, a lawfull festenyng betwix man *and*  
woman,

At thair bother assent for to lyve samen

345 Withouten ony lousyng to thair life lastes,

In remedii of syn, *and* getyng of grace,  
If it be taken in gode attent and clennesse of lif.

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**C.** **¶ Extrema Unctio** est pœnae spiritalis aliqualis alleviatio  
quæ tantum debet dari adultis, qui gravis infirmitatis indiciis  
192 videntur mortis appropinquare periculo, tamen, si potest commode  
fieri, detur dum infirmi sunt compotes rationis.

**¶ Ordo, rite collatus,** dat potestatem rite ordinatis minis-  
trandi in ecclesia et conferendi ecclesiastica sacramenta—unicuique  
196 juxta statum et ordinem quæ suscepit.

**¶ Matrimonium** est viri et mulieris conjunctio individua,  
vitæ retinens consuetudinem, et in isto sacramento etiam confertur  
gratia si puro corde et sincero animo contrahatur.

**L.** ¶ The fyfte sacrament ys. þe last anoyntyng.  
with oyle þat is halwyd *and* handlyd of prest  
to hem þat arn of skylful elde.  
*and* semyn in perel of deþ?

1045 in lyȝtnesse *and* aleggaunce of here seknesse  
yf god wile þat þey turne agayn to þe hele /  
and also in forȝenesse of venial synnys.  
*and* in lessyng of peyne yf þey passe hens.

¶ The sexte sacrame[n]t of holy chirche is. ordyr  
1050 þat geuys power to hem þat ryȝtfully takyn hit  
for to serue in holy chirche aftyr her stat ys.  
*and* to hem þat takyn þe ordyr of prest  
for to synge Messis. *and* for to mynystre þe  
sacramentes of holy chirche  
þat to hem fallyn aftyr þe stat þat þei han *and*  
here degré askyþ.

1055 ¶ The seuent sacrament *and* þe last ys. Matrimony.  
þat ys a lawful fastnynge be-twix man *and*  
womman  
at here bothe assent. for to lyue to-gydyr  
whyle here boþe lyuys wyl laste withoute eny  
partyng  
in remedy of synne and getynge of grace?

1060 yf hit be taken of good entent: *and* clennesse of  
lyfe.

**P.** quæ tantum illis dari debet, qui gravis infirmitatis indiciis videntur mortis appropinquare periculo: veruntamen si fieri potest, detur dum fuerint compotes mentis et rationis. Et si contingat 135 eos phrenesi, vel quacunque alienatione mentis laborare; si ante alienationem erant de sua salute solliciti, consulimus nihilominus eis hoc sacramentum fiducialiter ministrari. Credimus enim et experimentis didicimus, quantumcunque phrenetico (si tamen sit praedestinationis filius) istius susceptionem, vel ad habendum 140 lucidum intervallum, vel ad spirituale commodum, utpote ad augmentum gratiae, profuturum.

Sunt duo alia sacramenta, scilicet, ordo et matrimonium. Quorum primum perfectis convenit: secundum vero novi testamenti tempore solum convenit imperfectis; et tamen per ipsum ex vi 145 sacramenti credimus largiri gratiam, si sincero animo contrahatur.

The seven works  
of mercy,

**T. ¶ THE FERTHE THING OF THE SEX TO KNAW GOD  
ALMIGHTEN,**

That us behoues fulfill in al that we mai,

350 Is the seuen dedis of merci until our euen-cristen

to the hungry,

That god sal reherce us opon the dai of dome,  
and wit how we haf done tham here in this lyfe,  
Als saint matheu mas mynde in his godspell.

—xxvº. capitulo.—

**¶ Of whilk the first is to fede tham that er hungry.**

the thirsty,  
the naked,  
the strangers,

355 **¶ That othir**, for to gif tham drynk that er thirsty.  
**¶ The third**, for to clethe tham that er clatheless.  
**¶ The ferthe** is to herber tham that er houselesse.

the sick,  
the prisoners,

**¶ The fifte**, for visite tham that ligges in sekenesse.  
**¶ The sext**, is to help tham that in prison er.

the dead.

360 **¶ The sevent**, to bery dede men that has mister.  
**¶** Thise er the seuen bodily dedis of merci  
That ilk man augh to do that is mighty.  
**¶ UNDE VERSUS**, vestio, poto, cibo, redimo, tego,  
colligo, condo.

**C. ¶ Item sex sunt opera misericordiae quæ in evangelio  
recitantur.**

202 **¶ Primum** est pascere famelicum.

**¶ Secundum** potare sitientem.

**¶ Tertium** hospitare peregrinos et pauperes.

**¶ Quartum** vestire nudum.

206 **¶ Quintum** visitare infirmum.

**¶ Sextum** consolari carceri mancipatum.

**¶ Et septimum** colligi potest ex Tobia, videlicet, sepeliri  
corpora mortuorum.

L. *Septem opera corporalia misericordie*

**T**he ferthe thyng of þe sex to know god almyȝthi

is. þat vs be-houys to knowe  
þe seuen dedys of mercy bodyly *and* gostly.  
*and* to fulfylle hem in al þat we may.

1065 *and* do hem to our euyn-cristen vp-on peyne of  
dampnacioun.

For god schal reherce hem to vs at þe day of dom.  
*and* se how we haue don ham to our euyn-cristyn.  
as seynt Mathew seyþ in þe gospel./

Of þe whiche þe fyrist ys to fede hem þat be  
hu[n]gry.

1070 That oþer is. to ȝeue hem drynke þat be þursty.

The þridde for to cloþe hem. þat ben cloþles.

The ferthe is. to herberwȝe pore men. þat ben  
herberwȝles.

The fyfte to conforte *and* helpe men in prisoun.

The sexte is to visite and conforte hem þat be  
seke.

1075 The seuent is. to bery hem þat have nede.

**A**l maner of men ben holdyn be godys lawe

to do þese seuyn bodyly werkys of mercy.

vp-on here power. and who-euer do þese werkys  
of mercy trewly

be his power! he schal haue þe blysse of heuyn

1080 as crist sayþ in þe gospel. *and* schewis opunly.

Promises to those  
who do these  
works to the best  
of their power,

P. *Sex antein Opera Misericordiae ex Matthaei evangelio patefiunt,  
quaे sunt:*

Pascere famelicum, hoc est, famem habentem.

Potare sitibundum.

150 Hospitio recipere peregrinum.

Vestire nudum.

Visitare infirmum.

Consolari carceri mancipatum.

Septimum vero ex Tobia colligitur, quod est, Sepelire mor-  
155 tuorum corpora.

**T.** (*Nothing in original to correspond with L.*)

**L.** Therfore sayþ Crist whan þou makyst a feste or a  
1082 calle noon to þe ryche men. [soper

to the poor but pore men. Febyl. Crokyd. *and* blynde.

And hit schal qwyt to þe in þy laste day.

[fol. 13 b] 1085 ¶ And \*also be þe prophete ysaye god seyes.  
Breke þy bred to þe hungry and bryng in-to þyn  
hows nedy men.

and needy. *and* þo þat haue noon hous of here owne.  
whan þou seist a nakyd man hele hym :  
*and* dispise not þy broþer.

The cursedness  
of those [friars]  
who snatch rich  
men's almes away  
from the poor.

1090 ¶ lord how cursyd be þe ypoeritys. þat be fals  
ypoerisy.

ravischyn ryche mennys almes fro pore nedy men.  
where god byddis almes be don : *and* drawys yt  
to hem self to make nedles howsys.

*and* grete festys to ryche men. *and* oþir vanitees.  
Hit semyþ þe fend bryngis yn suche ypoeritys to  
disseyue þe ryche men

1095 of here almes. *and* of feyth. *and* of cristis gospel.  
For in almes wel don : stondys moche remissioune  
of synnys.  
þerfore þe fend castys be sotel ypoerisy : to for-  
do þys almes.

**Causa monens ad opera misericordie**

**A** general steryng be Crystys lyf *and* Resun  
for to fulfylle þese werkys of mercy.

1100 ¶ Furst men schuld willfully fede pore hungry men  
*and* þrusty.

For in þat : þey fede iesu Crist as he hym self  
sayþ in þe gospel.

And also Iesu crist gyfys body *and* sowle lyf *and*  
catel to vs for þis ende.

*and* fedis vs wyþ his flesch *and* his blod in þe  
sacrament of þe awter.

The example of  
Christ and our  
own reason should  
stir us to do these  
works.

To this end are  
the gifts of nature  
and grace ;

**L.** and gaf hys precious herte blod on þe cros  
 1105 to bryng vs owt of Mischef of synnys *and* paynys.  
 ¶ þan resonably ow we to ȝeue mete *and* drynke  
 to niedy men of his owne goodis.  
 For hys loue *and* reward of heuyn blysse. *and*  
 more encrese of wordly goodys.  
 ¶ Also skylfully we owe to cloþe þe nakyd pore  
 men and the reward,  
heavenly bliss and  
earthly pros-  
perity.  
It is reason we  
should clothe the  
naked,

1110 sethen crist gyfys gloþis to þis ende.  
 and he hym self was strepid nakyd.  
 and betyn. and suffryd moche cold for our nede.  
 And ȝif we do þis wel he wyle cloþe oure sowlys  
 with vertues *and* grace in body *and* sowle  
 1115 with þe stole of vndedlynesse *and* blysse of heuyn.  
 And we owe wel to herberwe pore herberwȝles and house the  
homeless;  
 men for cristys loue.  
 sethyn crist for oure nede com doun fro heuyn  
 and leuyd in þis world pore lyf.  
 and had non hous of his owyn be worldly tytyl.

1120 and offrid al hys body on þe cros.  
 and his herte to be pynyd *and* persyd with a spere. for Christ has  
gained a home  
for us.  
 for to bryng vs in-to þe hows of holy chirche.  
 and in-to þe hows of heuyn in blysse with-owtyn  
 ende.

¶ Be gret resoun owe we to vysite seke men  
 1125 sethyn \*crist for oure nede deyd on þe cros. [fol. 14]  
 to bryng vs out of seknesse *and* synne. *and* kepes He healed our  
sickness,  
 vs out of bodily seknesse?  
 for we schuld help oþer seke men. *and* be þis  
 help deserue þe blyss of heuyn.

¶ Also we owe be gret resun to comfort men in  
 presoun. and visited us  
when fast bound  
in sin.

Seþen crist was þre *and* thyrti ȝere in gret presoun  
 and paynful in þis world.

1130 and sparid not for no cold ne hungryr ne oþer peynys  
 to visyte vs. þat were in prisoun of synne.

A rhyming  
enumeration of  
the seven spiritual  
works of mercy.

**T.** ¶ Thare er of merci allso seuen gasteli dedis  
365 That us augh to do to tham that has nede til us :

Counsel.

¶ Ane is to consaile *and* wisse tham that er will.

Reproof.

¶ A nothir is to withdrawe tham that will wirk ill.

Consolation.

¶ The third is to solace tham that er sorowfull.

Prayer for  
sinners.

¶ The ferthe is to pray for tham that er sinful.

Patience.

370 ¶ The fifte is to be tholemode when men misdos us.

Forgiveness.

¶ The sext gladly to forgyf when men has greued us.

**C.**

*(Spiritual works of mercy not in Latin original;*

**L.** ne sparid not to visite men þat were in helle for  
horroure of þat place.

¶ Lord whi schuld venom or stynk lette vs to  
visive men in presun.  
sythyn þey be many tymes presonyd for hate and  
for trewthe þat þey mayntene.

1135 and many tymys for ensampyl of vs: god suffrys  
hem þus to be pynyd

for we schuld drede gretter þe peynys of helle.

¶ We owe to bery pore dede men in tyme of nede. We should bury  
sythyn crist wilfully suffryd so hard deth  
in þe mount of caluerye for oure synnys  
Christ was willing to die for us.

1140 And þese werkys of Mercy be vndon.

he schal dampne vs to helle with-outyn ende.

And yf we do hem trewly: he wil bryng vs to  
heuyn with-outen ende. Amen.

#### .vij. opera spiritualia misericordie

**P**er be seuen werkys of gostly mercy.

þat god chargis more þan þe werkys of  
bodily mercy.

1145 and þey be bettyr and esyer to fulfylle.

The fyrist is to teche men þat be vncunnyng of Teaching.  
godlys lawe.

¶ The secunde is to counseyl men in dowte whiche Counsel.  
is sekyr. wey to ples god.

¶ The þridde ys to chastyse hem þat be rebel Reproof.  
azenst godis comaundementys.

¶ þe ferthe is to conforte men. þat be in care and Consolation.  
disease.

1150 ¶ The fyfte is to forȝeue rancour of herte. hate. Forgiveness.  
and envye

¶ The sexte is to suffre paciently. Patience.  
whan men be out of pacience, resoun and mesoure.

Teaching.

**T.** ¶ The seuent, when men askes us for to her tham,

if we can mare than thai for to lere tham.

The spiritual  
works of mercy,UNDE versus, Consule, castiga, solare, remitte,  
fer, ora,

375 Instrue si poteris : sic cristo carus haberis.

needful for others,  
and profitable to  
ourselves.¶ Thise til our neghtebors er ful nedefull,  
And to tham that dos tham wondir medefull,  
For he sal find merci that mercifull is,  
And man withouten merci of merci sal misse.The seven Chris-  
tian Virtues.380 ¶ THE FIFTE THING of the sex to know god  
Almighty

Is the seuen vertues that haliwrit techis,

[See Note, page 60.]

**C.** ¶ Tertio sciendum, est quod tres sunt virtutes principales  
125 scilicet, fides, spes et caritas,

**L.** ¶ The seuent *and* þe last is to pray erly *and* late Prayer for  
enemies.  
for oure enmys. as crist byddys in þe gospel.  
Euery man pore *and* riche may do alle þese : whan-  
euer he wyl  
Rich and poor are  
able to do these  
spiritual works,  
and they are  
better than mercy  
shewn to the  
body.

1155 in o maner or in anoþer. *and* he is neuer þe porer.  
and þey bryngge sowlys out of mischefys of synne.  
Therfore as þe sowle is better þan þe body :  
So þese gostly merceyes be better þan þe bodily  
merceyes.

¶ A / lord how cursyd be þey. þat may lyȝtly do A curse on those  
who do them  
not;  
þese werkys of gostly mercy

1160 *and* do not.  
sythen þey \*be so cursyd of god þat do nat þe [fol. 14 b]  
werkys of bodily mercy.  
þat ar not so esy ne so profitable.

¶ But how moche more be þei cursyd of god : þat and specially on  
those who of free  
will are pledged  
to do them,  
bynde hem-self wilfully.  
and takyn moche mede to do þese werkys of gostly  
mercy.

1165 As do Curatis *and* prelatis. *and* ȝit do hem nat.  
but lettys oþer men to fulfylle hem be feynyd  
iurisdiction  
whan þey hem-self may not. con not. or wyl not.  
for worldly bysynesse or ese of here body. but hinder others,  
when they have  
neither power nor  
knowledge nor  
the will them-  
selves.

¶ hyt semyþ be many resonys. þat þey be more  
cursyd þan seariot or Symon magus.

1170 *and* deppyr schul be dampnyd.  
but yf þey amend hem fully in þis lyf.

### Septem virtutes.

**T**he fyfte þyng of þe sex to know god  
almyȝty  
is þe .vij. vertues þat holy writ techys.

**P.** 176 Septem sunt *Principales Virtutes*, scilicet fides, spes, charitas,

Three towards  
God;

four in respect  
to ourselves and  
our neighbour.

Faith

is the beginning  
of good works;  
but nothing worth  
without works,  
[fol. 297]  
nor can works be  
pleasing to God  
without it.  
Hope,  
both through  
God's goodness  
and our own good  
works;

neither despair-  
ing,

nor presuming.

**T.** Of whilk seuen the thre first, that er heued thewes,

Teches us how to haue us unto god almighty,

And the four techis us swa for to lyf

385 Bathe onentes our self and our euen-cristen  
That it be bathe likand to god *and* to man.

¶ **The firste** vertue is trouthe, whar thurgh we trow  
Anely in a God, that made al thinges,  
With al the othir articles I touched before;

390 And this is nedfull til all that cristen lifes,  
For trouthe is beginyng of al gode werkes:  
For nouthir is trouth worth withouten gode werkes,  
Ne ne \*werk withouten trouth mai pai god  
almighten.

¶ **The tothir** gode thewe *and* vertue is hope,  
395 That is a siker abyding of gastely gode  
Thurgh goddes godeness, *and* our godedis,  
For to come to that blisse that never mare blinnes  
Not anely in traiste of goddes godeness  
Ne alanely in traist of our godedesdis,

400 Bot in traist of tham when thai er bathe samen.

For nouthir sal we fall so ferr in al wanhope  
That we ne sall traist to have blisse if we wele do,

Ne we ne sal noght come so ferre in-til our hope  
That we sal traist so mikel of goddes godeness,

**C.** quæ theologicæ appellantur, et a solis fidelibus possidentur.

¶ **Fides** est virtus, qua creduntur quæ ad Christianæ religionis  
pertinent fundamentum, et consistit principaliter in articulis  
prænotatis.

130 ¶ **Spes** est certa beatitudinis expectatio, proveniens ex  
meritis gratiaque divina; sed haec habet duo contraria, plurimum  
viciosa, scilicet desperationem et præsumptionem, a quibus cavere  
debemus. Nam cum Deus sit misericors, nemo desperare debet,  
quia quacunque hora peccator veraciter pœnituerit salvus erit; et  
135 cum Deus sit justus, nullus sub fiducia misericordiæ peccare  
præsumat, cum solis pœnitentibus venia concedatur.

**L.** Of whiche seuen þre þe (*sic*) fyrste þat be  
souerayne vertues

1175 we owe for to haue toward god almyȝty.  
And þe oþer foure techyn vs so for to lyue:

þat yt be lykyng to god *and* to man.

¶ The furste vertu is **Feyþ**.

wher-by we trowe only in god. þat alle þyngys made

1180 with alle þe artyclys: þat y be-fore seyde.

And þis is nedful to alle þat tristly lyuys.

For trewthe is begynnyge of alle gode werkys./

But noþer trewthe withoute good werke/

ne good werk with-outyn trewthe may plesse god  
almyȝty.

1185 The secund vertu is **Hope**.

þat is a sikyr bydyng of gostly good

þorwȝ godis goodnesse: *and* oure owne good dedys.

For to come to þat blysse þat neuerschal haue ende.

Not only in trust of goddis goodnesse:

1190 ne al only in trust of oure good dedys.

but in trust of hem bothe: whan þey be bothe  
to-gydyr.

For neyþer schal we falle so far in wanhope /

þat we ne schal truste to haue þat blysse. yf we  
wel do.

Ne we schal nat truste so fer in þe mercy of god:

1195 þat we leue goode dedys vn-don.

**P.** quæ ad Deum ordinantur, ac idcirco theologicæ appellantur:

**T.** That we sal hope to have blisse withouten gode dedis.

Charity, 406 ¶ **The third vertu** or thew is charite,  
The whilk is a dere loue that us augh to haue  
Unto god almighty and all our euene-cristen  
Unto god almighty al for him-selven,  
for God, 410 And al our euene-cristen for god almighty  
For the tane may nought be loued withouten the  
and man. tothir,  
For als that saint Iohan sais in his epistell  
—ca<sup>o</sup>. iiiij<sup>to</sup>.—  
That eomandement, he sais, we have of god al-  
mighty,  
That wha-soeuer loues god, loues his euene cristен ;  
415 For he that loues noght his brothir, wham he mai se,  
how suld he loue god almighty that he seis noght.  
¶ **The ferthe vertu** or thewe is rightwisenesse,  
Justice renders to all their due, That is to yheld to al men that we augh than,  
For to do til ilk man that us augh to do,

honour to whom honour, 420 For to worship than that er worthi,

**C.** ¶ **Caritas** est qua diligitur Deus propter se ; et proximus propter Deum.

¶ **Quatuor vero virtutes cardinales sunt**, justitia, prudentia,  
140 fortitudo et temperantia.

¶ **Justitia** enim constat in recte reddendis judiciis, et debitibus

**L.** For with oute goode dedys: we come neuēr into heuyn.

1197 and but we holde specialy þe byddyng of god  
¶ þe þyrde vertu is **Charite.** þe whiche ys fulnesse  
of loue

to god almyȝty and to oure euyn-cristyn./

1200 To god almyȝty as for hym-self.  
and to oure euyn-cristyn for god almyȝty.  
For þat on may not be louyd: withoutyn þat oþer.

For as Seynt **Jon** seyþ in his Pystyl.

þat \* comaundement we haue of god.

[fol. 15]

1205 þat who-so euer louys god: lovys his euyn cristyn.  
For ho þat louyþ nat his broþer whom he may se;  
how schold he loue god. whom he seys nat.

¶ The ferthe vertu ys **Ryȝtwysnesse.**

þat is to ȝelde to alle men þat. þat we owe hem.

1210 and for to do. to eche man: þat vs owe.  
Fyrst: for to ȝeld to god seruyse þat we be-heet  
hym whan we tok *cristyndom*  
and to kepe his comaundementys be-fore alle oþer  
thyngys.

And study we al oure herte: to do aftyr his  
counseyl.

and so to plese hym. and fulfylle his wyl.

1215 in al þat euer we mowe. for to haue þank of hym.  
and to gete of hym oure mede. for þat ys souerayne  
ryȝtwisnesse.  
And aftyrward to worschype ham þat be worthy.

**P.** prudentia, temperantia, justitia, fortitudo; per quas homo ad  
159 seipsum et proximum ordinatur.

**T.** (*Nothing in original to correspond with L.*)

**L.** þat is þo þat loue god. *and* leue good lyf: aftyr goddys lawe.  
not for riches,

Not worshipe men for here worldly rychesse. as þe fals world doþ:  
1220 for þey be mysdloers. sotel. *and* slyhtful dysseyuers.

nor for habits of an order,

Ne worshipe not men for here fayre cloþes. ne for here qweynte schappis  
þat sum men vsen. *and* sey þe cloþis make hem holy.

¶ And forþermore þey make sum men beleue þat who so euer deys  
in here abyte of hire ordre: þat he schal neuer go to helle.

A dangerous heresy

1225 And sum men þynke þat þis is a ful parlows heresy.  
For to make men to trowe in fals thyngys.  
þat may not helpe hem to here saluacioun.  
For þan myȝt a man synne how-euer hym lyst.  
*and* leue so in dedly synne tyl hys endyng day.

1230 *and* neuer forthynk his synne. ne make satisfaction  
of goodys þat he haþ stole of oþer mennys.  
but kast on suche a cope and dye þer-yn.  
*and* þan his synnys schul be forȝeue hym: as fro þe peyne of helle

to teach thus.

But þis lernyng is aȝen ryȝtwisnesse. seþyn ryȝt-wys god techys þe contrary.

1235 For god *and* alle his seyntys. *and* oure beleue techis vs:  
þat who-so-euer brekys godys comandementys wilfully.  
*and* leuyþ in pride. *and* in lechery. *and* stelys his neyȝebours goodys:

The penalty of wilful breach of God's commandments,

L. And haþ no repentaunce for þese synnys in his if unrepented of,  
laste ende:  
ne makys no satisfaccion yf he may

1240 of þe stole goodys neþer in dede. ne in wyl. ne in  
thoȝt:  
þat he mot verilyche go to helle./ euery (ever) is hell without  
end,  
with-oute ende.

þow he deyde in alle þe abytyss and alle þe vesti-  
mentys in cristen-dom

þe: þow he hadde vp-on hym in his deþ: þe cloþ even though the  
þat cristen weryd man died in  
Christ's own  
vesture.  
\*here in erthe in his manhed þat be resun was [fol. 15 b]  
neuer worldly cloþ so holy

1245 ¶ And furþer more ho-so-euer had synnyd in alle But if he had  
repented of his  
sin  
þese wyse.  
and lefte his synne with ful repentaunce  
and perfyt wylle neuermore to synne eft-sonys  
dedly  
with satisfaccion to his euyn-cristyn: as is trew  
god /  
he most sauе hym þorwȝ his ryȝtwysnesse. and Christ will save  
him.

1250 For on þis wyse stondys ful remyssion of  
synne.  
and þerfore ho-so-euer behotys eny man to come The promise of  
pardon on any  
other terms  
to heuyn  
þorwȝ forzeuenesse of synne but on þis  
wyse  
he is vnryȝtwys and fals in his seyyng. is false,  
For yf he sey he schal not come in helle

1255 and he deye in here abyte of here ordre: for, habit or no  
habit, none can  
forestall God's  
judgment.  
þan most he wel wytþ: þat he schuld to heuyn  
at þe day of dom.  
and holy wryt seyþ. þat noman wot  
whydyr he may be worþy to haue hate or loue of  
god.

Justice helps the needy, and wrongs no man, but does to all what reason asks.

Prudence or Wisdom is wary with danger, and discerns good from evil.

Fortitude or strength of mind and purpose,

**T.** For to helpe the pouer that er nedys,

422 For to do gile ne wrang unto naman, bot for to do that skill is unto ilkman.

¶ **The fift vertu** or thew sleghes or sleghness —prudencia—

425 That wisses us to be war with wathes of the world, for it kennes us to know the gode fra the yvel, And als-so to sundir the tane fra the tothir, And for to leue that is yvel, and take to the gode ; And of twa gode thinges to chese the better.

430 ¶ **The sext vertu** is strength or stalworthnesse, Noght anely of bodi, but of hert and of will,

**C.** persolvendis; et sic est contra malitiam saeculi plurimum opportuna.

¶ **Prudentia est** in utilibus eligendis et malis præcavendis et sic est utilis contra diaboli tentamenta.

145 ¶ **Fortitudo** constat in prosperis et adversis æquanimitate

**L.** And holy wryt may nat be fals: þan ys he fals  
 þat þus techys:

1260 þat who-euer deyes in here abyte schal neuer go  
 to helle.

But trew men *and* meke men þynke  
 yt were more tokyn of holynesse  
 to dey withouten ony cloþynge: or ellys in a pore  
 cloþynge  
 to schew oþer ensample. whiche þey schul be.

1265 and to schew hem meknesse *and* porenesse to  
 stoppe pride.  
*and* þat we com bare in-to þis world *and* bare  
 schul we passe

But yf we be cloþyd in oure sowle *with* vertues  
*and* holy lyuynge

And þerfore ryȝtwisnesse wyl not þat we worshipe  
 men, for here cloþynge.

but only for here fayre vertues. *and* here clene lyf.

1270 for to helpe þat pore þat be nedy. *and* to amend  
 synful men  
 as þe gospel seys. to do wrong to no man.  
 but to do þat skyl is to eche man.

¶ The v. vertu ys **warnesse**. *and* slyeȝte.

in god to know þe goode fro þe yuyl.

1275 *and* to depart hem in two.  
*and* for to hate þe euyl: *and* loue þe goode.  
 and of two goode þyngys to chese þe bettyr.

¶ The sexte vertu ys **Strengthe**  
 not only of þe body. but also of þe herte. *and* of  
 þe wyl.

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**P.** Est autem actus *prudentiae* bonum eligere; actus *justitiae* recta  
 facere; actus *temperantiae* non impediri deliciis; actus *fortitudinis*  
 1264 non dimittere bonum agendum pro angustiis vel molestiis quibus-  
 cunque.

in weal and woe,

neither elated

nor depressed,

but stedfast to  
God-ward.

**T.** Euenly to sofir the wele *and* the wa,  
Welthe or wandreth, whethir so betides,  
And that our hert be noght to hegh for no welefare,  
435 Ne ouer mikel undir for nane yvel fare,  
But saffely for to stand ogaynes our faes,  
Whethir thai be bodili or thai be gasteley,  
So that na foule fandyng make us to fall,  
Or be fals *in* our faithe ogayne god almighty.

Temperance or  
Moderationpreserves us from  
excess,that we may live  
rationally.

440 **The seuent vertu** and the laste is methe or methes-  
fulnsse,—**TEMPERANCIA**—  
That hedis us fra outrage, *and* haldes us in euen  
Llettes fole lykynges and lustes of the flesch,  
And yhemes us fro yernynges of worldely godes,  
And kepes us in clennesse of bodi and of saule:  
445 For methe is mesur and met of al that we do,  
If we lyff skillwisely als the lawe techis.

The seven deadly  
sins,that we must  
know, so as to  
flee them.

¶ **THE SEXT THING AND THE LAST OF THAS** I first  
touchid  
Is the seuen heued synnes or dedely synnes,  
That ilkman augh for to knawe to fle and forhoue,  
450 For man mai noght fle tham bot he knawe tham,  
Pride, enuy, wrath, and glotony, covatis *and* slauth,  
and licheri.

**C.** tolerandis: et haec est necessaria ad pugnandum contra mundum,  
carneum, et diabolum in hac vita.

¶ **Temperantia** est in motibus illicitis coercendis: et haec est  
necessaria ad carnalia desideria ratione domanda.

150 ¶ Istis quatuor hic in vita bene vivitur; et post ad aeternam  
patriam pervenitur.

[See Note, page 60.]

211 ¶ Item septem sunt peccata mortalia scilicet superbia,  
invidia, ira, acedia, avaritia, gula et luxuria.

**L.** Stalworthly. and tholedmodly. to suffre wo *and* wele.

1280 seknesse *and* hele. tribulacioun *and* temptacioun.  
mekly to suffre: wheþer so falle wo or wele.

*and þat* oure herte be not to hyȝ. for no welfare.  
ne to heuy: for no euyl fare.

But styfly to stond aȝen our foys bodyly *and* gostly.

1285 so þat no foly fondyng make vs to falle  
ne to be fals in oure feyþ aȝenst almyȝty god.

[fol. 16]

But hertely in godes querel to withstonde  
yn our Euyn-cristyn in al þat we may./  
The seuent vertu. *and* þe laste ys **Mesure**.

1290 þat kepys vs fro vtrage and holhis vs in Euynhede.  
*and* lettys fowl lykyng. *and* lustys of þis flesch.

and kepeþ vs in clennesse of þe body *and* sowle  
For mesure ys mede to vs in al þat we do.  
ȝif we lyue skylfully as goddys lawe vs teches.

**Septem peccata mortalia.**

1295 **T**he sexte þyng. *and* þe laste to know god  
almyȝty ys.

þe seuen of hed synnys. or dedly.  
þat euery man ow to know to fle *and* forsake.  
For noman may fle hem: but he know hem  
These þey arn./ **P**ryde. **E**nvye./ **W**rathe./ **G**lotonye.  
Couteyse. **S**lewþe./ *and* **L**eccherye.

**P.** Et dicuntur haec quatuor *Virtutes Cardinales*, hoc est *Principales*,  
quia de istic quatuor plures aliæ sunt extractæ: de quibus, quia pro  
168 solis simplicibus laboramus, ad præsens amplius non tractamus.

Septem vero *Peccata mortalia* sunt, superbia, invidia, &c.

**T.** And forthi er thai cald seuen heued synnes,  
 For that al othir comes of tham,  
 And forthi er thai cald dedli synnes,  
 455 For thai gastely sla ilk mannes saule,  
 That er hanked in al or in any of tham.

Wharefore the wise man biddes in his boke,  
 —Ecclesiast. xxi°.—

Als fra the face of the neddir, fand to fle syn,  
 For als the venyme of the nedder slaes mannes bodi,

460 Swa the venyme of syn slaes mannes saule.

Pride  
 is a lifting up of  
 man's heart for  
 office or position,  
 or other distinc-  
 tion, that he has  
 by birth or favour,  
 or prides himself  
 on having.

¶ **The first of this seven synnes is pride,**  
 That is, a likand heghnesse of a mannes hert  
 Of office, or hegh state, or othir nobillay,  
 That he outhir has of kynd or of grace,  
 465 Or that he hopes that he has mare than a nothir.  
 And of this syn comes mani sere spices,  
 Bost, and auantyng, and unbuxumnesse,  
 Despite, and ypcrisie, and unshamefulnessse,

And othir that er oft sithe sene omang proude men.

Envy grieves at  
 the well-doing,  
 and rejoices at  
 the misfortune, of  
 others;

470 ¶ **The secund dedeli syn is hatten enuy,**  
 That is a sorowe and a site of the welefare,  
 And ioy of the yuel fare of our euen-cristen ;

hates praising  
 them;

misjudges their  
 actions;

Of whilk syn many spices springes and spredes.  
 Ane is hatered to speke or here ought be spoken  
 475 That may soun un-to gode to tham that we hate :  
 Another is false iuggeyng or dome of thair dedis,

**C.** ¶ **Superbia**, radix omnium vitiornin, est amor propriæ excelle-  
 lentiæ, ex quo oriuntur jactantia, hypocrisy, schisma, et consimilia.

215 ¶ **Invidia** est dolor felicitatis, et gaudium adversitatis alienæ,  
 de qua oriuntur detractio, murmuratio, perversa judicia, et similia.

**L.** Herfore þey be elepyd: þe seuen hed synnys.

For al oþer synnys. comyþ of hein.

1302 and þey be callyd dedly synnys.

For þey sle gostly euery mannys sowle. þat is  
bound in ham.

For þat synnys in **On**: synnys in alle.

1305 wherfore þis man Ecclesiastes. byddys in his boke.

As fro þe **Neddryrys** face fonde to fle synne./

For as þe venym of þe nedlyr: sleys mannys  
body:

So þe venym of þe synne: sleys mannys sowle.

The fyrste of þese synnes ys **Pryde**.

1310 þat ys alykyng (*sic*) of mannys herte and heynesse

of offyceys. or of hey stat. or nobleye

þat he has of kyn. kende. or of grace.

or þat he wenys. he haue more þan anoþer.

And of þis synne: cometh many sere spicys.

1315 **Bostynge.** **Auaunt-makyng.** vnbuxumnesse.

despit. and ypocrisy. proud schame. and fool  
dredre.

and oþer many þat regne among proud men.

The secunde synne ys. brennynge **Envye**

þat is a sorwe and forþynkyng of oþerys welfare.

1320 and ioy. and a lykyng of here evyl fare.

wheþer þey be frendys or foys.

And her-of comys many spycis.

**On** ys hatred to speke or here owȝt be spokyn.

þat may sowne in-to good to hem þat þey hatyn./

1325 **Anoþer** is fals Iugginge. or demyng of here dedys

þat þey hate.

**P.** Et est SUPERBIA amor excellentiae propriæ: de qua oriuntur  
jactantia, ostentatio, hypocrisis, schismata, et similia.

170 INVIDIA vero est odium felicitatis alienæ: de qua oriuntur  
detractio, verberatio, murmuratio, dissensio, perversa judicia, et  
similia.

**T.** And ay turne until yuel that thai do to gode ;

and backbites,

The third is bacbityng, to sai behynd tham

That we wil noght auow ne say befor tham,

480 Whare noght anely he that spekes the yuel,

Bot he that heres it be spoken, is for to blame,

For war thar no herer, thar wer no bacbiter.

whereln the  
listener is also  
to blame.

Anger is a stirring  
or swelling of  
heart,

that makes one  
desire to take  
vengeance.

¶ **The third dedely syn** or heued syn is wrath,

That is, a wiked stirryng or bolnyng of hert

485 Whare-thurgh a man wilnesse for to take wrake

Or wickedly to venge him opon his euen-cristen,

And of this syn comes striuyng, and flityng,

With mony fals and mony foule wordes ;

Sklaundir, for to fordo a mannes gode fame,

490 Feghityng, *and* felony *and* oft mannes slaughter,

And many ma than now is nede to be neuened.

¶ **The ferthe dedeli syn** is glotony,

That is ane unskilwise likyng, or loue,

In taste, or in takyng of mete *and* of drynk ;

495 And this trespas dos men opon sere wise.

Gluttony.  
Eating or Drink-  
ing out of reason,  
as to

[fol. 297 b]  
time,

nicety,

quantity,

haste,

or contrivance.

Ane is ouer areli or ouer late, \* or ouer oftt sithes

For to ete or to drynk, bot if nede ger it ;

Another is for to lyue ouer delicately ;

The third is for to ete or drink ouer mikel ;

500 The ferthe is ouer hastily to ete or to drynk ;

The fift is to compas upon what wise

We may gete deliciose metes *and* drynkes,

**C.** 216 ¶ **Ira** est vindictæ injustus et temerarius appetitus de quo  
oriuntur contentiones, dissensiones, bella, homicidia, et similia.

[*Here Acedia (C. 218-220, post, page 92) and Avaritia (C. 221-3,  
post, page 92) follow in the Latin of the Convocation.*]

¶ **Gula** est immoderatus edendi et bibendi appetitus et habet  
quinque modos.

226 ¶ **Primus** est in non debito tempore comedendo.

¶ **Secundus** nimis laute cibaria præparando.

¶ **Tertius** cum sumitur nimis in quantitate.

¶ **Quartus** cum sumitur nimis aviditate.

230 ¶ **Et quintus** est ciborum delectabilium excogitatio studiosa.

**L.** *and alwey to euhl! þat þey do to goode*  
 ¶ *The þrydde ys bakbytynge. to sey behynd a man!*  
*þat he wyl not sey. ne avowe be fore hym.*  
*For nat only he þat spekys þe euhl!*

1330 *but he þat herys yt spokyn. synnyþ þer-yn.*  
*For were þer noon hererys! þer were noon bak-*  
*byters*

\**The thryd dedly synne ys. Wrath.*

[fol. 16b]

*þat is a wykkyd sterynge of boldnesse of herte.*  
*whe-þorwȝ a man coueytys to make wreche*

1335 *or wykkydly venge hym on his euyn-cristyn.*  
*And of þis comys. struyunge. and chydyng.*  
*with men. fals othys. and many fowl wordys.*  
*slaundrys. for to for-do a mannys good fame*  
*fyȝtyng and felony and ofte manslawȝter.*

1340 *and many mo þan her be rekenyd*  
 ¶ *The ferthe dedly syn ys Glotony*  
*þat is an vnskylful lykyng or loue*  
*in tast. or tastynge of mete or drynke.*  
*and her-yn men trespace on many wyse.*

1345 *On is to ete or drynke ouer erly or ouer late.*  
*Anoþer for to ete ofte or drynk but nede mak yt*  
*Anoþer for to lyue ouer delycatly.*  
*to ete or drynke ouer mokyl or ouer hastily.*

or to kast on what wyse we may gete delycious  
 mete. or drynke.

**P.** *IRA est appetitus vindictæ et nocimenti inferendi alieni, quæ*  
*cum perseverat in corde fit odium: de quo oriuntur persecutio-*  
 175 *nes verborum & factorum, plague, homicidia, et similia.*

*GULA est immoderatus amor delectationis secundum gustum in*  
*cibo & in potu. In qua quintupliciter peccatur.*

180 *Primo in tempore, quando comeditur nimis mane et nimis*  
*tarde aut nimis assidue: aut in qualitate, quando queruntur ciba-*  
*ria opipara, seu nimis delicata: vel in quantitate, scilicet, quando*  
*nimirum comeditur aut bibitur, quod est vilissimum genus gulæ; et*  
*est nimium in cibo et potu, quod cor aggravat, et impedit sensum*  
*interiorem, aut exteriorem, seu quod laedit corporis sanitatem.*  
*Item in aviditate seu voracitate: et ultimo in curiosa et exquisita*

**T.** For to fill the likyngs and lustes of the flesh,  
Othir than we may godeley lede our lyve with.  
505 **UNDE VERSUS**, Prepropere, laute, nimis, ardenter,  
studiose.

Covetousness

gets, by right or  
wrong,

¶ **THE fift dedely syn** is covatise, that is a urang-  
wise wilnyng  
Or yernyng to hafe any kyns gode that us augh  
noght,  
*And* this is principally done opon twyn wise :  
Ane is wrangwisely to gete any thing  
510 That oure likyng or oure loue lightes opon,  
Als be sacrilege, or be symonie,  
Stalthe, falshede, or oker, or othir gilery,  
Whilk this worldis men is wont for to use,  
That castes thaire conandnesse so unto couatise  
515 That thai ne reck whethir it be bi right, or bi wrang,

and keeps unduly  
for itself.

Bot at thai mai gete that at thaire hert yhernes.  
Anothir is wrangwisely to hald that is geten ;  
That is when we will noght do to god almighty,  
Ne til halikirk, ne til our euuen-cristen,  
520 That us augh for to do bi dett *and* by lawe,  
Bot anely haldes that we have, for ese of us selven ;

Whare noght anely he that wrangwisely getes,  
Bot he that wrangwisely haldes, falles in the syn.

Sloth.

¶ **THE sext dedely syn** is slauthe or slawnes,

**C.** Quæ continentur in hoc versu :

232 ¶ **Præpopere**, laute, nimis, ardenter, studiose.  
221 ¶ **Avaritia** est immoderatus amor bonorum temporalium,  
tam illicite adqnirendo, quam indebite detinendo ; ex qua oriuntur  
223 fraus, furtum, sacrilegium, simonia, usura et omne turpe lucrum.  
218 ¶ **Acedia** est tedium boni spiritualis, quo quis nec in Deo,

**L.** for to fulfylle þe lykyng and þe lust of þe flesche/  
oþer þan we may goodly lede oure lyf with.

1352 ¶ The fyfte dedly synne ys **Couetyse**. þat is a  
wrongwys ȝernynge.  
to haue ony maner good þat vs owyþ not.

and þis is pryncipaly don: on two wyses.

1355 **O**n is wrongfully to gete ony þyng  
þat oure lykyng or oure lust: lustys vp-on.  
as be Sacrilege or **Symony**.

**S**telyng. **F**alshed. or **O**kyr. or oþer gylery.  
þe whyche. þese wordly men be wonþ to vse.

1360 þat kastyn here lykyng so to couetyse:  
þat þey rekke not wheþer it be with ryȝt or with  
wrong.

So þat þey may gete: þat here herte desirys  
**A**noþer is. wrongfully to holde.

þat is whan we wil not do to god almyȝty.

1365 ne to holy chirche. ne to oure euyn-crystyn:  
þat vs owe to do be dette. and be lawe.

But only holde þat we haue to oure owne ese.

**N**ot only we synne in **Couetyse** but also in slewþa.  
and not only he þat wrongfully getys

1370 but also he þat wrongfully holdys / fallys in þat  
synne

¶ The .vi. ys. accidy./ þat is slownesse.  
whan a man schuld do a good dede

**P.** alimentorum præparatione pro gulæ deliciis excitandis, quæ  
quinque continentur in hoc versu:

Præpropere, laute, nimis, ardenter, studiose.

AVARITIA est immoderatus aenor habendi, mobilia vel immo-  
bilia afflentiae illicite acquirendo, vel illicite retinendo: ex qua  
190 oriuntur fraus, furtum, sacrilegium, et omne turpe lucrum, et  
similia.

ACEDIA est tædium boni spiritualis, ex quo homo nec in Deo,

Repugnance to  
spiritual work.

**T.** That is ane hertly anger or anoye til us  
 526 Of any gastely gode that we sal do,  
     And of this syn comes *sum* sere species ;  
 Delay.      Ane is latsumnesse or lite to draw opon lenthe  
     Any gode dede that we sal do,  
 530 That mai turne us til help or hele of our saules.  
 Dulness.      Another is a dulnesse or heuynesse of hert  
     That lettes us for to luf our lord god almighty,  
     Or any likyng to haue in his seruice.  
 Idleness.      The third is yde[*l*]ship that ouer mikel is haunted,

535 That makes men lathe to begyn any godededis,  
     *And* lightly dos us to leue when ought is begunnen,  
     And thar ar we er kyndely borne for to swink  
     Als the foughel is kindly born for to flegh,  
     Job. v<sup>to</sup>. ca<sup>o</sup>.  
     It haldes us euermare in ese ogaynes our kynd,  
 540 For idelnesse is enmy to cristian man saule  
     Stepmodir *and* stameryng' ogayne gode thewes,  
     *And* witter wissyng *and* wai till alkyns vices.

Lechery.

**¶** The seuent dedely syn is lecheri,  
     That is a foule likyng or lust of the flesch ;  
 545 And of this syn comes many sere species.  
 Fornication.

Ane is fornication, a fleshly syn  
     Betwix ane aynlepi man, and ane aynlepi woman,  
     That forthi that it is ogaynes the lawe  
     *And* the leue, *and* the lare that hali kirk haldes,

550 It is dedely syn to tham that dos it.  
 Adultery.

**¶** An other is auoutry, that is spousebrek,  
     Whether it be bodily or it be gastely,

**C.** vel ejus laudibus, aut bonorum operum exercitio delectatur  
 220 ex hoc sequitur tristitia, negligentia, otium et similia.  
 233      **¶** Peccatum vero luxuriæ est his temporibus nimis n<sup>eo</sup>,

**L.** hastily *and* with good wil. for þe loue of god.  
 drawith yt on lengthe *and* heuy is þer-with  
 1375 *and* ys hertles in eny gostly good þat he schuld do.  
*and* of þis syn. comys many sere spycis.

On is latsumnesse or delyt to draw on lenthe  
 ony maner good dede þat we schuld do  
 þat may turne vs to helpe of oure sowlys  
 1380 ¶ **Anoþer** is ydilnesse \*or heuynesse of herte  
 þat lettyþ vs for to loue our lord god almyȝty:  
 or eny lykyng to haue in his seruys.  
 Anoþer ys coldnesse of herte *and* ydylschip þat  
 ouer mekyl is vsyd

þat maketh vs loþ to be-gyn ony good dede.  
 1385 *and* lyȝtly maketh vs to leue of whan eny is be-  
 gunne.  
*and* þerfore we be kendlly born to swynke:  
 as þe foul is born to fle kendlly.

hyt holdys vs euermore in ese passynge kende.  
 For ydylnesse is enmy to mannys sowle.

1390 stoppynge *and* staunchyng grace *and* good thewys.  
*and* hit is witte wyssyng *and* wey to al maner  
 synnes. *and* vices.

¶ The vij. dedly synne *and* þe laste ys **lecherye**  
 þat is stynkyng lykyng or lust of þe flescha.  
*and* of þis syn comyþ many sere spycis.

1395 On is fornicacioun of fleschly synne  
 be-twene a sengyl man *and* a sengyl womman  
*and* for þat is gayn þe law.  
*and* leue *and* þe lore / þat holy chirche holdis:  
 yt is dedly synne to hem þat doþ yt.

1400 **Anoþer** is ~~vowtri~~ spowse-brekynge  
*wheþer* it be bodily or gostly.

190 nee in Divinis laudibus delectatur: ex qua sequuntur ignorantia,  
 pusillanimitas; desperatio, et similia.

LUXURIAM vero non oportet notificare, cuius infamia

**T.** That greuouser *and* gretter is than that othir.

Incest,

The third is incest, that is when a man synnes

555 Fleshly with any of his sib frend,

Or any othir that is of his affinite,

Gastely or bodili, whethir so it be.

and many other kinds.

Othir spicess many ma springes of this syn,

That ouer mikel er knawen and kennd in the werld,

560 With tham that ledis thair lifs als thaire flesch yhernes.

These are the six things taught by the Church,

that all are bound to know.

¶ **This er the sex thinges** that I have spoken of,  
That the lawe of halikirk lies mast in  
That ye er al halden to knawe, *and* to kun,  
If ye sal knawe god almighty, and cum un-to his  
blisse :

**C.** ut incestus, adulterium, fornicatio et ideo non oportet exponere ejus fœditatem.

236 ¶ Quamobrem vobis injungimus et mandamus, quatenus præmissa omnia et singula, tam clero, quam populo vestrae jurisdictionis intimetis seu publicetis publicarive seu intimari faciatis, rectoribus, vicariis, presbyteris et aliis curatis quibuscumque jurisdictionis prædictæ, in virtute obedientiæ, ex parte nostra firmiter injungentes, quod ipsi et eorum quilibet, habitis præmissorum veris copiis infra mensem, præmissa parochianis suis publice prædicant, eosque super articulis memoratis instruant, exquisite singulis quadragesimis a dictis parochianis suis in confessionibus

240 audiendis an hæc sic addiscerint et parvulos suos instruxerint inquirendo, penitentiam non parentibus imponendo, et eam postmodum ut præmittitur aggravando; laicos vero jurisdictionis prædictæ per vos moneri volumus et induci quod ipsi, et eorum quilibet, præmissa per curatos suos sibi exposita devotione filiali

245 benigne audiant et addiscant, parvulosque suos, ut præmittitur, erudiant, seu per alios faciant erudiri, sicut indignationem divinam et inobedientiæ reatum voluerint evitare. Et ut mentes fidelium ad id propensius excitemus, Nos de omnipotentis Dei misericordia,

250

**L.** wel greuouser yt is *and* gretter þan þe oþer. /  
 The þridde is **Incest**. þat is whan a man synnyþ  
 fleschly *with* ony of hys kyn. or ony oþer þat is  
 of his affynete

1405 gostly or bodily whedyr so yt be.

þe oþer spycis many may spryng of þat synne.  
 þat ouer mekyl ys customyd. *and* know in þis  
 world  
*with* hem þat lede here lyf as here flesch wyl.

And al þe grettyst synne is in prestis þat leccherye  
 vsyn.

The worst kind is  
 when priests  
 practise this sin,

1410 for it passyþ þat oþer in despit þat is do to god.

And euer gretter *and* gretter as þei be of degré.  
*and* þe stat of þe oþer party þat þey syn with.  
 These be þe sexe thyngys þat y haue spokyn of  
 þat þe law of holy chirche lys most yn.

and all the more  
 in proportion to  
 their rank and  
 the condition of  
 the other party.

1415 þat þey be holde to know *and* to kunne :

*yf* þey schal knowe god almyȝty *and* come to þe  
 blysse of heuyn.

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**P.** 196 aërem inficit universum.

As an encouragement to learn them,

the Archbishop grants forty days' indulgence;

for by knowing these things men learn to know God, whom to know is life eternal.

**T.** And for to gif yhou better will for to kun tham,

566 Our fadir the ercebisshop grauntes of his grace  
Fourti daies of pardon til al that kunnes tham,  
Or dos thair gode diligence for to kun tham,  
*And ratifies als-so that othir men gifes,*

570 So mikel couaites he the hele of yhour saules,  
For if ye kunnantly knew this ilk sex thinges  
Thurgh thaim sal ye kun knewe god almighty,  
Wham, als saint Iohn saies in his godspel,  
Conandly for to knewe swilk als he is,

575 It is endeles life *and* lastand blisse,

To whilk blisse he bring us [*that bought us*]. amen.

**C.** gloriosæ Virginis Mariæ matris ejus, beatorum Apostolorum Petri et Pauli, gloriosissimi Confessoris Willelmi meritis et precibus  
256 confidentes, omnibus subditis nostris infra nostras civitatem, dice-  
cessim, et provinciam constitutis, et aliis, quorum diœcesani hanc  
nostram indulgentiam ratam habuerint, de peccatis suis vere con-  
fessis pœnitentibus et contritis, qui præmissa in prædicando, do-  
260 cendo, audiendo et erudiendo devote servaverint et adimpleverint,  
quadraginta dies indulgentiæ misericorditer duximus concedendos.

Data apud Cawode xxv<sup>to</sup>. die mensis Novembris anno Domini  
millesimo ccc<sup>mo</sup>. lvij<sup>o</sup>.

Nostræ tamen intentionis non existit aliquibus personis ad  
265 prædicandum indultis per præsentes in aliquo præjudicare.

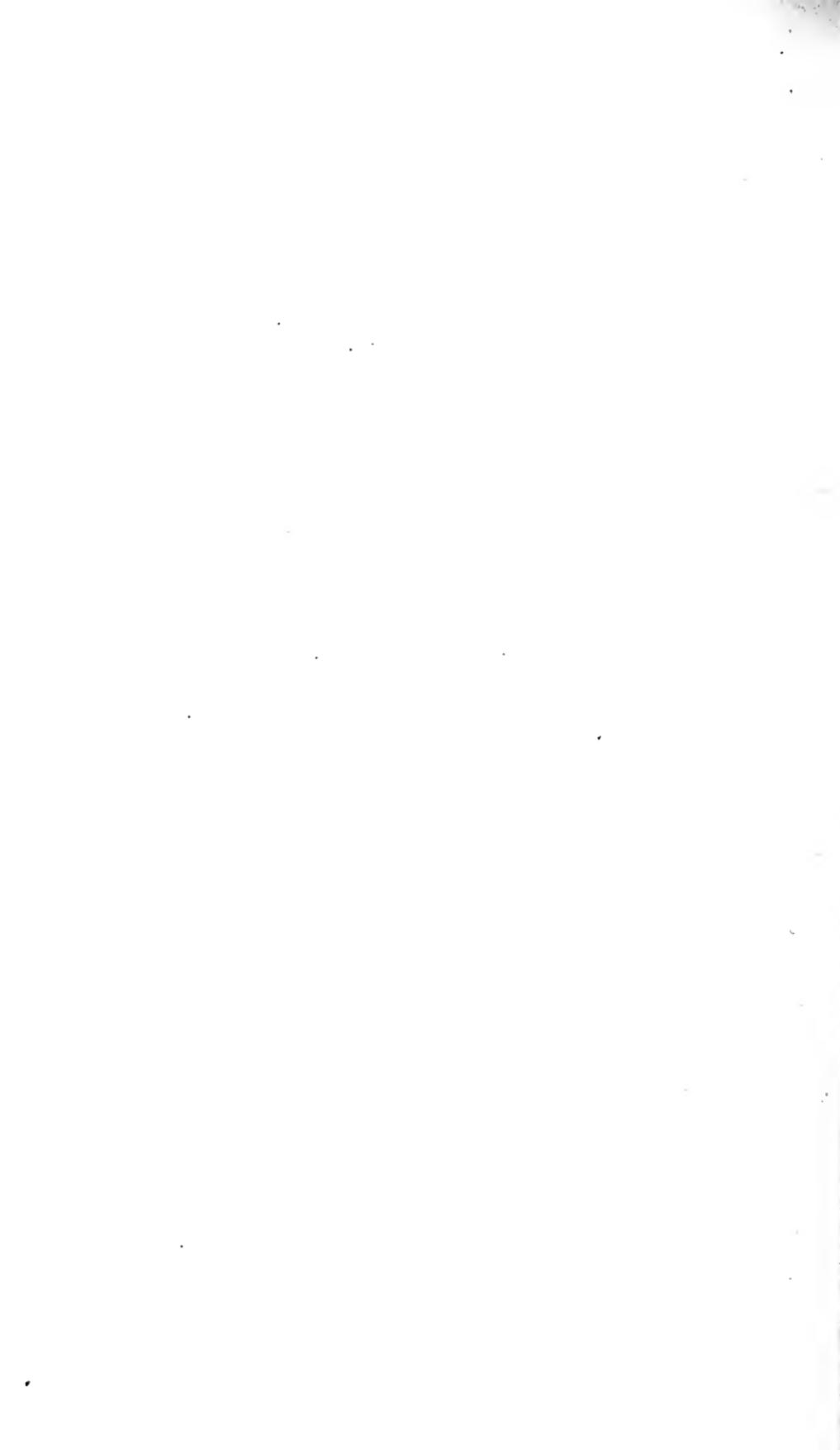
**L.** And for [to] ȝeue ȝow þe better wyl for to cunne  
ham.

Our Fadyr þe archiepischop grauntys of hys grace.  
forty dayes of **Pardon**. to alle þat cunne hem  
1420 and rehercys hem. and tellys hem to oþer.

and confirmys al þe pardoun þat oþer men ȝeuys to.  
So moche coueytyþ he : þe hele of oure sowlys.  
For yf ȝe cunnyngly knowe þese sexe thyngys;  
þorwȝ hem ȝe schuȝt knowe god almyȝty.

1425 And as seynt Ion seyþ in hys gospel.

Kunnyngly to know god almyȝty :  
ys endles lyf. and lastynge blysse.  
He bryngge vs þerto. þat bowȝt vs  
With hys herte blod on þe cros Crist **Iesu. Amen.**//



## NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

Page 1, **T. 1—3.** The scribe who entered this document in the Archbishop's official register here left a space for a three-line capital A. These initial letters were added to the manuscript by the turners or flourishers; as they continued to be in the case of printed books as late as the last years of the fifteenth century.<sup>1</sup>

p. 1, **T. 1.** *gret clerk*—Peter Lombard, so called from having been born at Lummello, a village near Novara in Lombardy. He rose to the head of the divinity school of Paris, and eventually became bishop of the see in 1159, dying in the following year. He was known as the "Master of the Sentences"; and his work here quoted, the *Libri quatuor Sententiarum*, was accepted by the school-men of all opinions as their text-book of theology until the appearance of the *Summa* of Aquinas, some two hundred years later.

p. 1, **T. 3—10.** The place from the *Sentences* is as follows:—"Credamus ergo rerum cœlestium, terrestrium, visibilium vel invisibilium causam non esse nisi bonitatem creatoris, qui est Deus unus et verus. Cujus tanta est bonitas, ut summi boni beatitudinis suæ, qua æternaliter beatus est, alios velit esse particeps, quam videt et communicari posse, et minui omnino non posse."—*Senten.* II. i. 3.

p. 1, **T. 10—14.** "Et quia non valet ejus beatitudinis particeps existere aliquis nisi per intelligentiam, quaæ quanto magis intelligitur, tanto plenius habetur, fecit Deus rationabilem creaturam quaæ sumnum bonum intelligeret, et intelligendo amaret, et amando possideret, ac possidendo frueretur. Eamque hoc modo distinxit, ut pars in sua puritate permaneret, nec corpori uniretur, scilicet, angeli; pars corpori jungeretur, scilicet, animæ. Distincta est utique rationalis creatura in incorpoream et corpoream; et incorporea quidem angelus, corporea vero homo vocatur, ex anima rationali et carne subsistens."—*Senten.* II. i. 4.

We may compare with these opening lines the similar beginning of Calvin's Catechism (in French 1536, Lat. 1538). Canon Simmons remarks that Calvin appears to have been quite unconscious that he is quoting the Master of the Sentences. In this he is not followed by the larger and smaller Catechisms of the Westminster Divines.

p. 4, **C. 5.** *Ex nostra.* Cf. the instructions given by Adrian VI. to his legate to the Diet of Nuremberg: Mosheim, II. 401 n.

<sup>1</sup> The Company of Scriveners of the city of York included Text-writers; Limners (who painted the miniatures and did the gilding); Notours, who inserted the musical notes; and Turners and Flourishers, who did the initial and capital letters, and the illuminated borders. Canon Simmons has an interesting note in his *Lay Folks' Mass-Book*, p. 401, in which he gives a covenant for a service-book from the acts of the Chapter of York, showing that the size of these initial letters was a matter of definite stipulation. The entry of this covenant is dated the 26th August, 1346.

p. 5, **L. 46.** The insertion of "other" in **L.** is not without significance. It brings out the fact that the beneficed clergy were also priest, and were therefore bound to discharge the priest's duty of teaching.

[Canon Simmons seems to have regarded "priests" as meaning only "parish priests" (curates as we should now call them) put in charge by the appropriators of the tithe. I think the Wyclifite insertion is intended rather to insist on the universal obligation to teach, which lies on all priests, even unbeneficed, as a result of their ordination; and condemns especially the Mass-priests, who were contented to earn a living by "a chaunterie for soules" or the like.]

p. 5, **L. 47-8.** This farther dwelling upon teaching is characteristic of Wyclif, who sets preaching above all other duties of a priest. "As prestis have a state hyest of alle oper, so God askes of hom more parfit service; and ydnelnesse in prestis is most dampnable. þo moste hye servise þat men have in erthe is to preche Gods worde, þat falles unto priestis."<sup>1</sup> "Ffor (holy Chirche) is most worshipped by prechynge of Gods worde, and so þis is þo most servise þat prestis schulden do to God."<sup>2</sup>

Compare also *Festyv.* clviii.:—"The whiche we that have the cure of soules be bounde for to teche our parysshens upon Payne of eternall dampnatyon oure soules."

[The Wyclifite tendency remarked in the last note is more strongly shown in the omission of the words "that god almighty save." This omission is no doubt due to Wyyclif's strong objection to all special prayers. One of the propositions condemned at the earthquake council of 1382 is (XIX): "Quod speciales oraciones applicatae unae personae per praelatos vel religiosos non plus pro sunt eidem personae quam generales orationes coeteris paribus eidem."—*F. Z.*, 281.]

This view was maintained by the later Lollards, as may be seen in *Pecock's Repressor*, Part V. chap. xv.]

p. 6, **T. 49.** *opon sononndaiers.* The rule as given in the *Pupilla Oculi*<sup>3</sup> is, that every priest having cure of souls should once each quarter, on one or more holidays, either by himself or some other, set forth the points of doctrine, as specified in Peckham's *Constitution* (p. 18—22).

p. 6, **C. 14.** Cf. Aquinas: "rationes subtiles . . . . rudi exemplo."—Göbl. 285.

p. 7, **L. 57.** Here "preche" is put first, while it comes second in **T.**

p. 7—11, **L. 59—161.** This treatise on the Pater Noster is contained in three other manuscripts, viz. Bodl. 789 (which also contains Archbishop Thoresby's "Sixe thingis,"—**T.** 52, &c.), Trin. Coll. Dub. c. v. 6, and Harl. 2385. Mr. Arnold gives the authority of Bale for ascribing it to Wyyclif; and it is followed in all four MSS. by the tract, *Super Salutatione Angelica*, or on the Ave Maria, which bears in the Harleian Text the name of W. (III. 93).—H. E. N.

p. 7—18, **L. 59—73.** The substance of this passage is contained in a treatise given by Mr. Arnold (*Sel. Eng. Works Wyc.*, III, pp. 99, 100), to which he has prefixed the following note:—"The only ground for ascribing this treatise to Wyyclif, besides internal evidence, is the fact of its being found in a volume of W.'s sermons at Wrest Park. The style much resembles, I think, that of W. He goes on to express his opinion, that if by W., this treatise is, compared with most of his English works, of early date, composed after he had sent out the 'poor priests,' but before persecution had commeneed."

<sup>1</sup> *S. E. W.*, III. 143. <sup>2</sup> *Ib.* 144. See also *W. E. W.*, 188-1. <sup>3</sup> *P. X.*, c. 1.

Canon Simmons has a marginal note here to the effect that the passage in the treatise given by Mr. Arnold is rather founded on our text than copied from it: and that its tone is more denunciatory, showing its date to be later.—H. E. N.

p. 7, L. 61. *passys oþer prayers.* Compare the *Speculum Ecclesiae* of St. Edmund of Canterbury, 1247.

"Ista oratio superat et excellit omnem aliam orationem, in dignitate et utilitate. In dignitate, quia ipsem Deus ipsam composit et fecit; et ideo facit magnum dedecus et magnam irreverentiam Iesu Christo Dei filio, qui sibi accipit verba rhythmitica et curiosa, dimittitque et relinquit orationem quam ipsem composit qui scit totam voluntatem Dei Patris et qualis oratio maxime sibi placet, et pro quibus nos miseri maxime indigemus deprecari. Nam sicut prius dixi, ille solus totam scit Dei Patris voluntatem, totam nostram necessitatem. Igitur centum millia hominum decipiuntur per multiplicationem orationum. Cum enim putant se habere devotionem, habent unam vilem et carnalionem affectionem, quia omnis carnis animus naturaliter delectatur in tali loquela curiosa."<sup>1</sup>

[The whole of this passage (59—161) on the Pater Noster is undoubtedly Wyclif's, and is printed in *S. E. W.*, I. 93. That text, taken from a MS. in the Bodleian, differs very slightly from ours, but it has in addition a peroration in praise of the Lord's prayer.]

p. 8, L. 78. Theologians allow as an axiom, that the external operations of the Holy Trinity are common to the Three Persons, but the use of "Trinity," where "God" would have been more usual, is characteristic of Wyclif. We may notice other instances in our manuscript:

"Our sowle was mad to lyknesse of þe trinite," L. 86.

So, too, in l. 104, where he is speaking of the petitions of the Lord's Prayer addressed to our Father:

"And þese thre askyngys arn to þe holy Trinitate."

Other examples may be quoted from Wyclif's Latin works:

"Non credo quod Christus tam perfecte servivit Trinitati pro tempore sue viacionis sicut post resurrectionem." *De Statu Innocentiae*, cap. II.

"Est unus verus et summus dominus in celis residens, qui est trinitas increata." *De Contrarietate duorum Dominorum, Polemical Works* (Buddensieg), p. 698.

I add an example of the use of "Trinity" in the next century, from the will of Roger Flore or Flower, 1424, "And I pray to þe blessed Trinite that of his endless mercye and goodnesse he sende my children grace to be gode men and wommen, and to ȝelde him gode soules þrough þe helpe and praiere of our lady saint Marye and of all þe seyntes of heune." Furnivall, *Earliest English Wills*, 59.

[Canon Simmons did not notice that Roger Flore heads his will "Ego, Rogerus Flore, miser et indignus," which is a common form with Lollards. Cf. the will of Thomas Broke in the same Collection, p. 27: "In the name of the Lorde of all Lordes, the affynity ym mortal Trinite, I, wrechyd Synner, Thomas Broke," &c.]

p. 8, L. 87. *was prentyd þeryn.* This might seem at first sight to have a modern look, and to be later than the date I have assumed for these interpolations; but I find the same metaphor elsewhere—at least in French—a century earlier:

"A fin que il peut (*puît*) la creinte et celle meisme terreur imprimer

<sup>1</sup> S. Edmundi Cantuarensis Archiepiscopi *Speculum Ecclesiae*. Ed. De la Bigne, Paris, 1589. Tom. v, col. 1440.

aus Latins par laquelle il avoit opprimé les courages des siens." Bercheure (XIV. cent.), in his translation of *Livy*, as quoted by Littré, *s. v.* *Imprimer*. Littré here remarks that the form *imprimer* is comparatively modern: the older was *empreindre*, from which our English *print* and *print* were no doubt taken.

The word occurs in Wyclif's unquestioned works:—"On two maneris, may a man kepe Goddis word; first to printe þe witt in his soule, and after to reule his liif þerby."—*S. E. W.*, I. 380.

The *Promptorium* has *Inprentyd*, *Inprentynge*, &c. (p. 262); and, though the *Speculum* of Koster was printed in 1438, it is hardly probable that the recent invention can have been known to a recluse friar, preacher at Bishop's Lynn, as the author describes himself in his *Preambulum* in the year 1440, which he there gives as the date.

p. 9, **L. 95.** [This description of the Church as made up of the saved agrees with Wyclif's definition, "Congregacio omnium predestinatorum," *De Ecclesia*, p. 2.]

P. 9, **L. 100—103.** There is a passage in Wyclif's *De Sermone Domini in Monte*,<sup>1</sup> which is very similar to these lines as to reflex benefit of prayer, where what is prayed for must necessarily take place: "Videtur . . . quod iste sanctus (*Augustinus*) concedit, ut sæpe alias, quod omnia quæ evenient de necessitate evenient, et sic non foret orandum a viatoribus nisi de quanto oratio ipsos faceret disposiciores (*sic*) ut suscipiant lumen Dei."—Part II, 7. MS. Trin. Coll. Camb., fol. 382.

p. 9, **L. 110.** "Panis quotidianus aut pro iis omnibus dictus est, quæ hujus vitæ necessitatem sustentant, de quo cum præciperet, ait, Nolite cogitare de crastino; ut ideo sit additum, Da nobis hodie: aut pro sacramento Corporis Christi, quod quotidie accipimus: aut pro spiritali cibo, de quo idem Dominus dicit, Operamini escam quæ non corrumpitur." *S. Aug. de Serm. Dom. in Monte*, lib. II., cap. 7.—H. E. N.

p. 10, **L. 129.** *he knyttys to a condicioun.* Above L. 113 we have, "to feed with our souls." In *Piers the Plowman* we have a similar construction: "And send ous contricion to clanse with oure soules." C. XVII, 25.

Cf. our "to lay by money," "to cut off a piece," "give back money."

p. 11, **L. 144.** [Compare the following extract from Wyclif's tract on Confession:

"Continuance of mannes synne wiþouten sorowe and displesaunce wole make his synne harde, & bereue him power to sorowe þerfore & to gete mercy, and þus men shulden euer drede synne and flee to knytt on to anoþer; for when a man synkis in þe myre, at the laste he may not helpe hym self."—*English Works of Wyclif*, p. 339.]

p. 11, **L. 156.** "Solum peccatum finalis impenitentiae (quod est peccatum in Spiritum Sanctum) proprie est mortale."—Wyclif, *Trialogus*, III. 5 (p. 145).

"þat man synneþ agenst þe Holy Gost, þat to his lyves end is rebelle agenst God."—Wyclif, *Arnold*, 3, 109.

p. 11, **L. 161.** The other three texts (see note *supra* on **L. 59—161**) add the following, which I transcribe, with notes, from Mr. Arnold (III. 96, 7):—

"In þe eende of þe Pater Noster, AMEN is the signet of þe Lordis praiere, whiche word þe Ebru translatoure, Aquyla,<sup>2</sup> interpretid, 'and þe

<sup>1</sup> Now printed by Wyclif Soc., *Opus Evangelicum*, ed. J. Loserth, p. 285.

<sup>2</sup> Aquila, concerning whose life all that we know is derived from the work of St. Epiphanius *de Ponderibus et Mensuris*, was a native of Sinope, who

Lord confermede.' Ciprian<sup>1</sup> on þe Pater Noster seiþ, whatevere oþir wordis þe desire of him þat praeþ fourmeþ in bifore-goyng, þat it be clearer, oþir addiþ afterwarde, þat it encreesce, we seie noon oþir þinge þan þat is conteyned in þe praier of þis Lord, ȝif we praien riȝtli and covenabli. For whanne a man seiþ, Lord, be þou glorified in alle folkis as þou ert glorified in us, what oþer þing seiþ he þan þat, þi name be halwid? And whanne a man seiþ, Lord, schewe þi face to us, and we schulle be saaf, what oþer þing seiþ he þan þat, þi rewme come? Whanne a man seiþ, Lord, dresse my steppis up þi spechis, what oþir þing seiþ he þan þat, þi wille be down? Whanne a man seiþ, Lord, ȝif not povert ne richessis to me, what oþer þing seiþ he þan þis, ȝif us to-day oure eche daies breed? Whanne a man seiþ, Lord, have mynde of David and of al his myldnesse, and, ȝif I have ȝolden yvelis to hem þat ȝolden yvelis to me, falle I voyde fro inyn enemyes, what oþer þing seiþ he þan þis, Forȝive to us oure dettis, as we forȝyven to oure dettoures? Whanne a man seiþ, Lord, do awey fro me þe coveitise of þe wombe, what oþir þing seiþ he þan þis, Leed us not into temptacioun? Whanne a man seiþ, My God, delyvere me fro myn enemyes, what oþir þing seiþ he þan þis, Delyvere us from yvel? And ȝif þou rennest aboute bi alle þe wordis of holy praeieris, þou schalt fynde noþing whiche is not conteyned in þis praier of þe Lord. Whoevere seiþ a þing þat may not perteyne to þis prayer of þe gospel, he praeþ bodili and unjustli and unleefffulli, as me þenkiþ. Whanne a man saieþ in his praeier, Lord, multiplie myn richesses, and encreese myn honouris, and sciþ þis, havynge þe coveitise of hem, and not purposyng þe profit of hem to men, to be bettir to Godward, I gesse þat he may not fynde it in þe Lordis praeier. Perfore be it schame to aske þo þingis, whiche is not leefful to coveyte. If a man schameþ not of þis, but coveytsis overcomeþ him, þis is askid, þat he delyvere fro þis yvel of coveytsise, to whom we seyn, Delyvere us from yvel.

HERE ENDIP PE PATER NOSTER."

H. E. N.

p. 11, L. 161. The doxology (Mat. vi. 13) is not in the Vulgate. It is not in the Catechism, and was not introduced into the Prayer-book until 1661, and then probably because it was in the Authorized Version. It is omitted in the Revision of 1881.

"In those first days  
When Luther was profest, he did desire  
Short Paternosters, saying as a fryar  
Each day his beads; but having left those laws,  
Adds to Christ's prayer the power and glory clause."

Donne, Satire II.

"The doxology is, no doubt, an addition to the original text. It is not in B, D, Z, L<sub>2</sub>, nor in Cod. Sinait., nor in Vulg., nor Coptic. It is rejected

became first a Christian and then a Jew, and, to please his new co-religionists, made an exceedingly literal translation of the scriptures of the Old Testament from Hebrew into Greek, about the end of the first century of our era. Of this version unfortunately only some fragments exist. See the article "Aquila" in the *Biographie Générale*.

<sup>1</sup> There are no expressions in St. Cyprian's treatise, *De Oratione Dominicâ*, as found in modern editions, which exactly correspond to those quoted in the text.—Since writing the above, I have found the passage quoted in the text in one of St. Augustine's Letters; *Epist. CXXX.*, cap. 12. "Quæ libet alia verba dicamus, quæ affectus orantis vel præcedendo format utclareat, vel consequendo attendit ut crescat, nihil aliud dicimus quam quod in ista Dominicâ Oratione positum est, si recte et congruenter oramus."

by Griesbach (who says of it, 'certissime delenda'), Scholz, Lachmann, Tischendorf, Alford, and even Wordsworth. The Romanists charge the Protestants with having corrupted the Lord's Prayer. But the Doxology had been brought in long before the Reformation. It is found in E, G, K, L, M, S, U, V and Δ. From 2 Tim. iv. 18, its liturgical use would seem to have begun even then. The charge made by Dean Donne against Luther is peculiarly unfortunate, for Luther does not mention the Doxology in his Catechism (Wetstein on St. Mat. VI. 14).—H. E. N.

p. 11, **L.** 162. Saying the Ave Maria is directed in l. 629. [This is quite in accordance with Wyclif's declaration "videtur mihi quod impossibile est nos premiari sine Marie suffragio." Sermon No. 26, MS. Lambeth 23.] Printed (*W. S.*), *Sermones*, ed. J. Loserth, IV. 391.

p. 11—14, **L.** 162—222. *Aue Maria.* This passage seems to have been disseminated in a separate form by Wyclif, and it is given almost verbatim by Arnold (*Sel. Eng. Works Wyc.*, III. 111), with the following note prefixed:—

"This tract is mentioned by Bale, under the title 'Super Salutatione Angelica.' It also, as has been already mentioned, bears the name of Wyclif at the end, in the Harleian MS. 2385. If written by the reformer, which seems to me very probable, it must have been an early composition. The language used respecting indulgences is less trenchant than that which he was accustomed to use in his later years, and the general tone of the composition milder. This tract is found along with that on the Pater Noster, No. III, in all the MSS. which contain the latter."

H. E. N.

p. 12, **L.** 169. In Bodl. 789, and other MSS., this line runs:—"And so many men folili truste to suche praier"; Mr. Arnold adopts this reading, and remarks that the one in our text (from Lamb. 408) "completely alters the sense."—H. E. N.

p. 12, **L.** 175. "No man mai come to blis but ȝif he heere and kepe Goddis word; . . . ne oure Ladi myȝte not come to blisse, but ȝif she had herd and kepte his word. And herfore God ordeynede hir to be maistiresse to his apostlis, for she fel not fro þe feiþ, ne fro þe wordis of hir sone, but kepte hem wel in her herte, and caste wel what þei menten. And herfor it is no wondur ȝif she be more blessid þan oþer."—*S. E. W.*, I, 380.

p. 12, **L.** 176. *clowtyd*, patched, pieced. A.S. *clut*, a clout. "And no man putteth a clout of *buysteous* clothe in to an elde clothing" (Wycl.) *St. Matt.* ix. 16. "a patche," *St. Mark*, ii. 21. "I had nede go cloute my shoes: *Jai bien mestier de faire carreler mes souliers.*"—*Pals.* 488.

In the Bodleian MS., printed by Mr. Arnold (*S. E. W.*, III. 111), we have *enresid*; but the *clouted* of our text accords very well with the spirit of lines 204—221, where Wyclif returns to the subject, and also with the disparaging use which he elsewhere makes of the word.—"þei (þes newe ordris) done sumwhat þat is good, and many þingis amys; and so stondiþ þer cloutid reule, boþe in good and yvel."—*S. E. W.*, I. 302. "It seeineþ to many men þat alle þes newe ordris ben rotyn postumes, and tatered cloutis . . . . For alle þes ordris ben cloutid by Cristis religioun wiþouten his autorite, and departid among hem self."—*Id.* 400.

p. 12, **L.** 183. *þis fyl longe [aftyr].* "After" is in all the other MSS. For "fyl," the Bodleian 789 reads "ful" (*S. E. W.*, III. 112), the Dublin C. v. 6, "fel."

p. 12, **L.** 184. *aue reuersys þe name of Era.* Cf. *Myroure of oure*

*Ladye*, p. 77, and Wyclif, *Sel. Eng. Works*, III., p. 112. (Cf. also *Adam de Sto. Victore* [Seq. XLV., *Annuntiatio Beatae Mariae Virginis*]):—

“ <i>Missus Gabriel de celis</i>	<i>Verbum bonum et suave</i>
<i>Verbi bajulus fidelis,</i>	<i>Paudit intus in conclave</i>
<i>Sacris disserit loquelas</i>	<i>Et ex Eva format Ave,</i>
<i>Cum beata Virgine;</i>	<i>Eva verso nomine.”</i>

H. E. N.)

p. 12, **L. 185—7.** *Oure lady contraryyd Eve . . .* Cf. *Iren. adv. Haer.*, v. 19. “Manifeste itaque in sua propria venientem Dominum, et sua propria eum bajulante conditione, quæ bajulatur ab ipso, et recapitulationem ejus quæ in ligno fuit inobedientiæ, per eam quæ in ligno est obedientiam, facientem, et seductione illa soluta, qua seducta est male illa, quæ jam viro destinata erat virgo Eva, per veritatem evangelisata est bene ab angelo jam sub viro Virgo Maria. Quemadmodum enim illa per angelicum sermonem seducta est, ut effugeret Deum prævaricata verbum ejus, ita et haec per angelicum sermonem evangelisata est, ut portaret Deum obediens ejus verbo. Et si ea inobediret Deo, sed et haec suasa est obediare Deo, uti virginis Eve virgo Maria fieret advocata. Et quemadmodum adstrictum est morti genus humanum per virginem, salvatur per virginem: æqua lance disposita virginalis inobedientia per virginalem obedientiam.”

Also *Justin Mart. Dial.*, p. 327: “*Καὶ διὰ τῆς παρθένου ἄνθρωπος γέγονεναι, ἵνα καὶ διὸ ἡ ὁδὸν ἡ ἀπὸ τοῦ ὄφεως παρακοὴ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔλαβε, διὰ ταύτης τῆς ὁδοῦ καὶ κατάλυσιν λάβῃ. παρθένος γὰρ οὐσα Εὐα καὶ ἀφθορος τὸν λόγον, τὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ ὄφεως συλλαβοῦσα, παρακοὴν καὶ θάνατον ἔτεκε. πίστιν δὲ καὶ χαρὰν λαβοῦσα Μαρία ἡ παρθένος, ἐναγγελιζομένην ἀντὶ Γαβριὴλ ἀγγέλου . . . ἀπεκρίνατο. γένοιτο μοι κατὰ τὸ βῆμά σου.*”

And *Tertull. De Carn. Chr.* 17: “Crediderat Eva serpenti, credidit Maria Gabrieli; quod illa credendo deliquit, haec credendo delevit.”

Substituting our Lord for the B. V. M., the same thought is contained in a curious inscription over the door of the little church of St. Théodule, at Champéry, Valais, which I copied in 1875:

“*Quod an tris mulce pa  
guis ti dine vit  
Hoc san Chris dulce la.*”

Cf. also Wyclif:—“*Ave Maria*,” (*Matthew's Eng. Works of W.*, p. 207).—“*Bi þat woman Eue cūm sorowe, peyne & woo to mankynde, for sche tristed not sadly to goddis word, but tristed to þe fendis gabbynge & coueited ouermuche kunnynge & dingnyte; but by sad bileue & mekenesse & charite of marie can joie & saluacion to mankynde, for her bische conseuyede crist.*”—H. E. N.

Cf. *Adam de Sto. Victore* (Seq. VI., “*Nativitas Domini*”):—

“ <i>Eva prius interemit,</i>	<i>Prima parens nobis luctum,</i>
<i>Sed Salvator nos redemit</i>	<i>Sed Maria vitæ fructum</i>
<i>Carnis suæ merito.</i>	<i>Protulit cum gaudio.”</i>

See also the same, xci. 1, and xcii. 43.

“Nothing is more common in liturgical poetry than the comparison of Eve with Mary—‘The New Eve.’”—Gautier.—H. E. N.

p. 13, **L. 192.** *stronde.* We find this contrast between the well, or source of grace, and the stream supplied by it in Wyclif's Sermons:—“And herfore seiþ Poul aftir, þat þere ben divisions of grace, but certis it is þe same spirit, of whom comen al þes graces, as of o welle comen many strondis.”—*S. E. W.*, II. 338.

p. 13, **L. 195, 6.** Cf. 1 Tim. iv. 10:—“The living God, Who is the Saviour of all men, specially of those that believe.”—H. E. N.

p. 13, **L. 195.** *god ys with alle creaturis, &c.* So in tract on the Ave Maria:—

“God þe trintye is wiþ eche creature bi myȝt, wisdom & goodnesse to kepe it, for ellis it schulde turne to noȝt; but god is wiþ goode men of vertuous lif bi grace to approve and accepte here doyngis.”—*Eng. Works of Wylyf*, p. 208.

p. 13, **L. 204.** *hard to men to grounde hem leue to adde þis.*

Other additions were made before the sixteenth century, but they were scrupled at, as we see in the *Myroure*, not however as by Wyyclif, because an addition to the words of Holy Scripture, but because an addition to the set use of the Church.

The addition of the word Jesus was, however, adopted at Syon:—

“Iesu. that ys to say Sauyoure. For he hathe saued vs fro synne and from helle. he sauethe vs dayly from the malycy of the fende. and from perylls. and he hath opened to vs the way of endelesse saluacion therfore endelesly be that swete fruyte blessed. Amen. So be yt. Some saye at the begynnyng of this salutacyon. Aue benigne Iesu. and some saye after. Maria. mater dei. wylþ other addycyons at the ende also. And suche thynges may be sayde when folke saye theyr Aues of theyr owne deuocyon. But in the seruycie of the chyrche. I trowe yt be moste sewer. and moste medefull to obey to the comon vse of saynge. as the chyrche hathe set. without all suche addicions.”<sup>1</sup>

p. 13, **L. 207.** *þe pope gefes gret pardoun to men þat addys þese wordys.* “Ferdermore as for the salutacyon of our lady pope Urban and pope Iohan to all beyng in clene lyfe that in the ende of the . Aue maria) saye / . Ihesus amen) as ofte as they saye it they haue graunted of pardon . lxxxiiii . dayes / and as ofte as thou sayst oure ladyes psalter / so ofte thou hast of pardon . xxxiiii . yere and xxx . wekes.”<sup>2</sup>

Similar Indulgences have been granted for saying the rosary, or a part of it, subject to various conditions, by different popes between that time and the present. Pope Pius IX., by a decree, dated the 9th May, 1851, granted indulgence of ten years and ten quarantaines (*forty days*) once in each day, to the faithful who, having at least a contrite heart, recite together the third part of the rosary, either in their houses, or at church, or in a public or private oratory. To those who are accustomed to recite a third part of the rosary, at least three times a week, he granted plenary indulgence the last Sunday of each month, provided that, being truly repentant, they confess and communicate, and visit a church or a public oratory, and there pray for some time with the intention of his Holiness. He declared all the above indulgences to be applicable to souls in purgatory.<sup>3</sup>

p. 14, **L. 218.** *generaly*, here used in its proper sense—*to all*.

The same argument is used in a question asked by *Jacke Upland* (A.D. 1401) of the friars in reference to their letters of fraternity:—

“If your letters be good,  
why grant ye them not generally  
to all manner of men,  
for the more charitie?”—*Political Poems*, II. 21.

<sup>1</sup> *Myroure of oure Ladye*, ed. Blunt, E. E. T. S., p. 79. As to the modern addition of a direct prayer to the Blessed Virgin, see Mabillon, *Prefat. in Acta Sanctorum Ord. S. Benedicti*, Sec. V., cxxiiii.; *Lay Folks' Mass Book*, p. 184.

<sup>2</sup> *Festyuall*, 1515, fol. 159 b.

<sup>3</sup> *Dictionnaire des Décrets*, Migne, 1860, s. v. *Rosaire*, c. 1101.

p. 14, L. 220. *to say*, for saying.

p. 14, L. 220. *lady sauter*. The Lady psalter was so called because it included the repetition of a hundred and fifty Ave Mary's in accordance with the number of the psalms. It corresponds with the devotion which is known by the more modern name of Rosary, though that is not confined to the saying of fifteen decades, or sets of ten ave's. For example, the rosary of Saint Bridget in honour of the three and sixty years, the supposed length of the life of the Blessed Virgin, is composed of six decades of Aves, each beginning with a Paternoster, and ending with a Credo; the six decades being, moreover, followed by one Paternoster and three Aves.

There is some difference of opinion among Roman Catholic writers on this subject, as to when this devotion was first introduced. It will be observed that Wyclif does not speak of the Lady-psalter as a novelty in his day. From his mention of it in connection with the Ave-Maria there can be no doubt that he does not intend the *Psalterium Marie*, consisting of one hundred and fifty strophes, each beginning with *Ave*. Mone gives several examples from manuscripts of the twelfth century onwards, and mentions that in some he had noticed a change in the phrase of greeting—in the first third, or fifty strophes, *Ave*, in the second *Salve*, and in the last *Gaude*.<sup>1</sup> He also mentions that these Latin devotions began to be used in the vulgar tongue in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.<sup>2</sup>

In connection with this subject it may not be unacceptable to the members of the E. E. T. Society, if I add some extracts from an English legend, which is not later than the end of the thirteenth century, inasmuch as it occurs in the Digby MS. 86, which was written about 1290,<sup>3</sup> from which it is printed by Dr. Horstmann, in his new series of *Old English Legends*.<sup>4</sup> It is inscribed with a heading in French, “*Coment le sauter noustre dame fu primes controue*.” After an invocation to the “Leuedi swete and milde,” he goes on:—

“ Ich wille biginnen here And tellen þe manere Nou at þisse stounde	Of þi sauter here Mid wel gode chere, Ouhit wes . . . I-founde.”
---	--

He goes on to tell of a rich man, who “louede holi chirche,” and lived near an abbey which his elders had founded, and here he sent his only son.

“ Monk he þere bicom Wiþ abit he þer nom Bi his fader wille.	* * * * *
De lenedi ful of miȝtē þat bar oure driȝtē, In a chapele þere, Bi day and eke bi niȝtē Out wen he comen miȝtē, Were ware he were.	
Ou alle ich telle may : On houndret ewche day He grettinnes seyde. Wel he held his lay And þe ordre, bi mi fay ! For loue of þat mayde.	* * * * *

Ne let he none stounde þat he ne fel to grounde And on knewes bat, And þoute of þe wonde þat god for al þe mounde On rode hevede I-sprad.
--

On houndret to þe meyde Aue maries he seyde, Bi tale heche daye. He hit nout ne aleyde, Ac so wel he pleyde— Riȝt soþ for to saye—
---

þat he sau wel briȝtē Oure leuedi foul of miȝtē A settres-day, I-wis,
---

<sup>1</sup> *Hymni Latini medii Aevi*, II. 242. <sup>2</sup> *Ib.*, II. 245.

<sup>3</sup> *Altenglische Legenden*, Neue Folge, 1881, p. 211. <sup>4</sup> *Ib.*, p. 220—224.

Were hoe sat wel riȝtte  
 I-cloȝed half bi siȝtte  
 And seyde to him þis :  
 Mi monk, ne dred þe nouȝt,  
 For I þe haue I-bout  
 And þe ich wille take.  
 Thou hauest so goed fulwraȝt  
 Ne worst þou nouȝt bikaut :  
 Goed ne shal þe lake.  
 \* \* \* \* \*  
 Ac þou (most more say)<sup>1</sup>  
 Wor (mc now euche day)  
 Fifti al bi score  
 Of aue maries,  
 Fifti on day þries,  
 Wite nou were-fore :  
 þat is riȝt mi sauter.  
 And þou shalt witen her  
 Hou it shal ben do :  
 Fifti seye bi-fore  
 Tene eueri bi score,  
 And on anteme þerto.

We find a bequest of a pair of beads in the Will of Roger Flore, or Flower, 1424 (Furnivall, *Earliest English Wills*, 58), which illustrates this subject, and adds one more to the many examples where we find underlying the formal details of a legal document, apart from their antiquarian or archaeological interest, touches of tender feeling, and unconscious evidence of the heart's belief of the testator. "And I will þe Maister of Manton (*Riocardum Harvey, Magistrum cantarie de Manton*, ib., 55/8), haf my pair of bedys þat I vse my self, with þe x aues of siluere, and a pater noster ouer-gilt (*silver gilt*), preying him to haue mynde of me sumtyme whan he seith oure lady sawter on hem."

Mabillon<sup>2</sup> speaks of the rosary as consisting of a hundred and fifty aves, and fifteen Lord's prayers. The modern rosary is made up not only of one hundred and fifty smaller beads, with a larger bead between each ten, but where the ends of the string join there are five beads with a cross or crucifix. It is thus used. The creed is said on the cross, on the first bead a paternoster, an ave on each of the three next beads, and a paternoster on the last. Then an ave is said on each of ten smaller beads, and a paternoster on the larger bead, and so on until one hundred and fifty aves and fifteen paternosters have been said in addition to the creed, three aves and one paternoster before beginning the rosary proper.

p. 14, L. 225. *þre credys.* The Apostles' Creed was known as the "lesse crede" or the "English Creed," and of this it was said in the *Myroure*, p. 311, "each man is bound to can and say." The Nicene was called the mass-creed, or the *Symbolum patrum*, but the rubrics generally call the Athanasian creed *Psalmus*.

Latimer, when he was Rector (?) of West Kingston in Wiltshire, writing to his neighbour Sir Edward Baynton, says, "There be three creeds, one in my mass, another in my matins, the third common to them that neither say mass nor matins, nor yet know what they say, when they say the creed; and I believe all three, with all that God hath left in holy writ for me and other to believe."—*Sermons and Remains*, P. S. II., 332.

<sup>1</sup> The words within parenthesis are from the Auchinleck MS. (about 1410), in places where a piece has been cut off from the Digby.

<sup>2</sup> *Pref. in Sec.*, V. cxxviii., p. 456. Cat. 494.

\* \* \* \* \*  
 After sey wel sone  
 Fifty mididone  
 Al for þat ilke blisse,  
 þat he wiȝ-outen (sore)  
 Wold offine ben (bore)  
 þat þou per-(of ne misse).  
 Per aft(er þou shalt say)  
 Eft (fifti cuche day)  
 Bi (þine fingres ten)  
 O(f aue maries)  
 (cuche day þries)  
 (Telle hit fele men).  
 \* \* \* \* \*  
 Nou ieh bidde here  
 Ou alle wiȝ gode chere  
 þat ȝe suggesten þries  
 Wiȝ wel gode wille  
 Boȝe loude and stille  
 þese aue maries."

p. 14, **L. 234.** Cf. Bishop Latimer's *Sermon on the Plough*.—"The devil shall go for my money, for he applieth to his business. Therefore, ye unpreaching prelates, learn of him to be diligent in doing your office; if ye will neither learn of God, nor of good men, for very shame learn ye of the devil."—H. E. N.

p. 15, **L. 235.** *and secler lordys.* [The Dublin MS. reads "as" for "and".]

p. 15, **L. 244—253.** This is interesting, especially in view of Pearson's curious contention (Art. I.) that the "I believe in God" of the Creed, simply means "I believe that God is": though Augustine had said, "Ecclesiam credere, non tamen in Ecclesiam credere, quia Ecclesia non Deus est, sed Domus Dei est." The passage under review appears to be taken from *St. Aug. in Joan.* Tract. 29, and in Ps. 130. "Aliud est credere *Illi*, aliud credere *Illum*, aliud credere in *Illum*. Credere *Illi* est credere verum esse quod loquitur; credere *Illum* est credere quod Ipse sit Deus; sed credere in *Illum* est diligere *Illum*. Credere Ipsum esse Deum, hoc et doemones potuerunt."—"Quid est ergo credere in *Deum*? Credendo amare, credendo diligere, credendo in Eum ire, et Ejus membris incorporari." Pearson attributes the distinction especially to St. Augustine and the Latin Church. But he fails to note the force of *πιστεύω εἰς* as contrasted with *πιστεύω ἐπὶ* in such passages in the N. T. as St. John ii. 22—24, iii. 15, 36, v. 46, 7, vi. 29, 30, viii. 30, 1, xii. 36, 38, 42, xiv. 11, 12; Acts xiv. 23, xvi. 31, &c. Bishop Charles Wordsworth remarks on St. John ii. 22—4: "Πιστεύω εἰς τινά seems to come very near in meaning to πιστεύω ἐμαντόν τινί."—H. E. N.

p. 15, **L. 244.** *sotel.* Here Canon Simmons has made a marginal note; cf. *Victor* (Wrangham). He probably refers to the following verse from his Sequence XXII. (Trinity):—

"Digne loqui de Personis Veni transcedit rationis, Excedit ingenia.	Quid sit digni, quid processus, Me nescire sum professus: Sed fide non dubia."
---	--

H. E. N.

p. 16, **L. 266.** Cf. the fourteen points of T. 53.

p. 16, **L. 269.** *stondyng his godhed;* "subsistente deitate."

p. 16, **L. 277, 278.** The scribe may have had in his mind, "The Lord, the Giver of Life."

[The Dublin MS. reads "love," justifying Canon Simmons' conjecture. Compare "þe þridde personē in trinitye, to whom is apropryd true love," *E. W. of W.*, p. 363.—F. D. M.]

p. 17, **L. 292.** "Ut nos redimeret ab infernali captivitate, anima sua descendit ad inferna cum deitate, corpore manente in sepulchro, et extraxit secum animas quae in terra fecerunt suam voluntatem."—*Speculum Ecclesiae of Edmund Rich*, c. xiii.

"His sowle": cf. **L. 455:** "þe gost with þe godhed went in-to helle."

Also **T. 143:** "Whilke he in his forlode wold that wer saued."

p. 17, **L. 306.** Wyclif does not here introduce the doctrine of predestination that underlies his conception of the Church.

p. 17, **L. 310.** This view is everywhere taken by Wyclif. For example, when condemning what seems to have been speaking of the Church, rather than an unsound definition, (just as men are now sometimes described as "going into the Church," instead of taking Holy Orders),—he writes:—

"Whanne men speken of holy Chirche, þei undirstonden anoon prelatis and prestis, monkis and chanouns and freris, and all men þat han crownes (*i. e.* that have the tonsure), þouȝ þei lyven never so cursedly aȝenst Goddis lawe,—and clepen not ne holden seculeris men of holy Chirche, þouȝ þei lyven nevere so trewely after Goddis lawe, and enden in perfect charite."—*Arn. Sel. Eng. Works*, III. 447.

And so, in a sermon on the Gospel for the twentieth Sunday after Trinity, (The Marriage of the King's Son),—"And so men seien comounly þat þere ben here two manere of chirches, holy Chirche or Chirche of God, þat on no manere may be dampned, and þe Chirche of þe fend, þat for a time is good, and lastiȝ not; and þis was never holy Chirche, ne part þerof."—*Arn. Sel. Eng. Works*, I. 50.

p. 17, **L. 307.** *angelys and seytis in heuyn and alle þat schul be sauȝd.* So Wyclif, in his tract on the Te Deum:—

"Holy Chirche haþ þre partis. þe hiȝeste ben angelis of hevne; þe secunde, seintis slepinge in purgatorie; þe þridde is folk þat schulen be saved, here fȝitinge in erþe. Of þese and noone oþere is holy Chirche maad."—*S. E. W.*, III. 53.

This definition of the "general" or Catholic Church was one of the heresies laid to his charge: "Quod nullus praescitus est pars ecclesiae."—*Fas. Ziz.*, p. 2. Cf. note on **L. 95.**

p. 17, **L. 307.** *þat schul be saved.* Compare the rendering of *τοὺς σοζομένους* (Acts ii. 47) in the A. V., "such as should be saved," which has been adopted in the latest Roman Catholic English Version.<sup>1</sup> The Wyclifite versions both run "that weren maad saaf." This, if we understand "safe" as of a present state of salvation, seems to come nearer the "being saved" of the Greek, and is all the more to be remarked, as the reading of the Vulgate is in the subjunctive, "qui salvi fierent."

p. 18, **L. 312.** "Quanto magis nostri prelati ac religiosi, qui nec habent ex prophecia nec ex evidenti scriptura quod sunt predestinati, non frontose assererent quod sunt partes sancte ecclesie."—*Wyclif's Latin Sermons*, ed. Loserth, I. 4 (p. 22).—F. D. M.

p. 18, **L. 316.** *þre.* Cf. *Arn. III. 339; De Christo*, cap. 1.

p. 18, **L. 317.** The masculine pronoun is here applied to the Church. In *Thoresby*, line 203 (p. 44), we have the neuter, "and save the right of *it*," although in the previous line the Church is called "our gastly modir."

p. 18, **L. 317.** *wandrys here in erthe.* "Good lif of men þat ben wandryng in þis weye is betere preyere to god."—*Tractatus de Pseudo-freris*, c. 8; *W. E. T.*, 321.

Mr. Matthew remarks on this passage: "viator is the word generally used by Wyclif to signify man living on the earth."—*W. E. T.*, 524.

Cf. "Et secundum apostolum, 1 Cor. 3º: Si viator habuerit omnem fidem, ita ut montes transferat, caritatem autem non habuerit, nihil est."—*Dialogue*, C. xvi., p. 32/6.

p. 18, **L. 317.** Purgatory is afterwards (**L. 536**) spoken of as a place of punishment; but here, as of the resting-place of departed spirits. And so Wyclif sometimes speaks of purgatory as the place where the saints are sleeping;<sup>2</sup> or, as in his sermon on the raising of Lazarus, he says,

<sup>1</sup> Dublin "with the approbation of the Catholic Archbishops and Bishops of Ireland," 1857. The Rhemish Version was, "them that should be saved."

<sup>2</sup> *S. E. W.*, III. 53, quoted in note on **L. 307.** *Ib. I. 101.*

"No word of this story wantiþ sutil goosli witt. Crist criede wiþ greet vois, to teche þat soulis in purgatorie, be þei never so fer from him, comen anoon to his<sup>1</sup> crye."

In one of his latest treatises, *The Church and her Members*, he speaks of the saints in purgatory, who "synnen not of þe new, but purgen þer olde<sup>2</sup> synnes"; and in an exposition of the Paternoster, printed by Mr. Matthew, he refers to purgatory as a place of punishment, as in the place in our text, above referred to, exhorting to "have saad mind of the schortnesse of lykyng in sin, and on þe bittre peynes of purgatorie and helle." And again, "when we sayn, but deliver us fro euyl, we preien þat god deliuere vs from alle euyl of synne and peyne, boþe of body and soule, in þis lif and in purgatorie, and namely fro peyne of<sup>3</sup> helle."

p. 18, **L. 319.** *Pese popys ne prelatys.* Above (**L. 312**) it is said that "men cannot know whether they are parts of holy church, and that exalted ecclesiastical office, apart from holy living (cf. **L. 311**), does not justify any such pretension." This highness in prelacy is here identified with popes and prelates, and we find similar language often used by Wyclif. "By þis hope (of being safe in bliss) bineþe bileve, shulden be two synnes fled; pride of men and covetise, bi title þat þei ben men of holi Chirche. For no pope þat now lyveþ woot where he be of þe Chirche, or where he be a lym of þe fend, to be dampned wiþ Lucifer."<sup>4</sup>

Towards the close of his life, when he had definitely declared against the papacy, he speaks more strongly: "Certum est, quod nec papa in persona propria, nec ecclesia conversans cum illo, cui non sit revelatio, scit si prædestinatus fuerit vel præscitus, et, per consequens, si sit membrum ecclesiæ vel diabolus incarnatus. Quomodo ergo perversa est in fidem ista præsumptio, quod papa necessario est salvandus et errare non poterit in agendis."<sup>5</sup>

p. 18, **L. 320.** "Debet in militante ecclesia esse unica secta Domini Iesu Christi; et per consequens quatuor sectæ post sectam Christi per diabolum introductæ debent cessare gratia unitatis ecclesiæ militantis.

"Sunt istæ sectæ quatuor, ut sæpe dictum est, clerus cæsareus, monachi, canonici atque fratres. Clerus Cæsareus est multitudo sacerdotum, qui temporali dominio sunt dotati, cuius patronus instabilis dicitur esse papa, et regula lex papalis. Secunda secta dicitur esse monachi bipertiti, cuius patronus dicitur esse Benedictus et regula quam ex ejus sententia beatus Gregorius compilavit. Tertia secta dicuntur canonici, cuius patronus fingitur Augustinus . . . Quarta secta et ultima dicuntur fratres, qui in ritibus et aliis observantiis multipliciter sunt divisi, sicut et triplex secta possessionatorum in albos et nigros, viros et faeminas, quas sanctimoniales dicimus, dividuntur."—Wyclif, *De Christo et Adversario suo Antichristo*, cap. 2, *Polemical Works*, p. 656.

p. 18, **L. 324.** Every individual member (*eche parte*) of the (invisible) church is in communion with, and helps the other members, whether in heaven or earth; and so Wyclif, "Debet autem in ista ecclesia et qualibet sui parte esse pax et unitas, cum omnes partes singulæ debent mutuo se juvare, cum locorum distantia non impedit adjutorium spirituale."—*De Christo et Adversario suo Antichristo*, § 5, p. 654.

p. 18, **L. 330.** *fylle wyttys.*—*Ἡ πένταθλος αἱσθησις.* *Liturg. Clem. Mark.*, A. E. L., 205, 33.

<sup>1</sup> *S. E. W.*, II. 100.

<sup>2</sup> *S. E. W.*, III. 339.

<sup>3</sup> *W. E. T.*, 201.

<sup>4</sup> *S. E. W.*, III. 339.

<sup>5</sup> *De Christo et Adversario suo*, § 92. Buddensieg, p. 48-9. *Polemical Works*, p. 678.

p. 19, **L.** 332. Wyclif discourses on the five senses in *Triologus*, p. 94, and in the *Latin Sermons*, I. 203. In both cases the order differs from that given here, as smell precedes taste.

p. 19, **L.** 343—348. The remarks on the sense of touch have much in common with a passage in *How Satan and his Children, &c.*—*E. W. of W.* p. 218.—F. D. M.

p. 19, **L.** 349-50. In Wyclif's *Latin Sermons*, II. VI., p. 36/22, the inner senses are enumerated as “sensus communis, virtus imaginativa, virtus estimativa, virtus fantastica, et virtus memorativa.” A similar list is in *Triologus*, p. 95. It does not seem easy to make out the correspondence of the English with the Latin.—F. D. M.

p. 21, **L.** 370. Cf. **L.** 266: the second part of the Creed contains fourteen articles.

p. 22, **T.** 66. *parsons and vikers and al paroche prestes.* Where the tithes were appropriated a vicar was sometimes appointed, but more often a priest, dismissible at will, was hired to perform the services. This was the “parish priest” of the text.—F. D. M.

p. 23, **L.** 387. *on godys behalue.* Cf. the second Exhortation in the Communion Service:—“according to mine office, I bid you in the Name of God, I call you in Christ's behalf: . . .”

p. 24, **C.** 39 omits the Double Procession. Though it is inserted both in **T.** and **L.**, yet it may be noted in illustration of the connection between Thoresby and Wyclif, that, although the latter sometimes urges the teaching of that doctrine, he elsewhere, speaking of the Greek Church, considers it doubtful. Cf. *S. E. W.*, **T.** 146, with **T.** 152.

p. 25, **L.** 417. *holly on.* The scribe seems to have misunderstood the “hali” of his copy, and taken it to mean “wholly.”

p. 26, **T.** 124. *merryng.* A.S. merran; Goth. marjan (*σκανδαλίζω*).

“He palde merrin hire meidhād.”—*Cockayne, Marh.* 4.

p. 27, **L.** 432. *to god or with god.* This additional distinction is made with reference to the saints already in heaven.

p. 27, **L.** 437, 439. *be vertu of þe holy gost. . . . . throwȝ myȝt and strenthe of þe fadyr of heuyn.* It will be noticed that **L.** is much more precise than **T.**, which makes no distinction between the conception and the incarnation. With this compare:

“Quamvis enim tota Trinitas incarnavit Verbum et misit Spiritum Sanctum, hoc tamen solum originaliter fit ex Patre, qui sic delexit mundum ut Filium suum unigenitum daret.”—*De Benedicta Incarnacione*, p. 222/17.

Power is the special attribute of the Father in the Trinity.—*E. W. of W.*, 362. Cf. supra, **L.** 256, p. 15.—F. D. M.

p. 28, **T.** 141. “E carcere secum in cælum.”—*Art. Trid.*, 5, VI. 9.

p. 29, **L.** 455. *gost.* for “saule” of **T.** 140. Canon Simmons has here a marginal note, “gost, not a synonyme, but more accurate.” But in **L.** 292 (p. 17) we have—“his sowle went to helle.”

p. 29, **L.** 458. It is to be noticed that this addition weakens the assertion of predestination in **T.**

p. 29, **P.** 52. *ad spoliationem Tartari.* The Spoiling or Harrowing of Hell was a favourite scene in the Miracle Plays.

p. 30, **T.** 155. *ἰσάγγελοι*, “euen with angels.”—*Wycl.* “modico ministratus quam angeli.”—*Heb.* ii. 9.

p. 30, **T.** 165. *whethir-sum for whichever*: cf. "howsumever."

p. 33, **L.** 488. The arrangement of the commandments is that which still obtains in the Roman Catholic church, our first and second commandment being counted as the first, while our tenth is divided.

p. 33, **L.** 508 . . . . This answers to the second commandment.

p. 33, **L.** 518. (*n*)*eddyr*. The *n* erased, but the first part of the down-stroke may be traced.

p. 35, **L.** 549. *Who brekys*. The same formula will be found in the exposition of the other commandments. It survives in Archbishop Hamilton's *Catechism*.

"Quha brekis yair halieday?"—folio xxxvi b<sup>a</sup>

"Quha brekis this command?"—folio xlvi<sup>b</sup>.

p. 37, **L.** 556. *swere be no þyng þat god haþ wrought*. This addition is to be noticed. The objection to oaths was one of the distinguishing tenets of the Lollards, and is among the eleven points undertaken by Pecock in the *Repressor*. Compare "ne by ony creature," p. 39, **L.** 592. There is, of course, an implied reference to Matt. v. 34—36.—F. D. M.

p. 39, **L.** 601—604. The triple rhyme here is noticeable.

p. 39, **L.** 605. It is curious that there is no mention of the word Sunday, or of church authority, as in **T.**

p. 41, **L.** 629. *byn Aue maria*. Wyclif not only enjoins but practises invocation of Christ's mother. "Crist and his modir . . . . kepe his kirke in right byleve of þis sacrament." Concerning the Eucharist (Knighton's so-called Retraction).—*S. E. W.*, III. 503.

[“Sed Maria mater Domini videtur ex hoc specialiter honoranda, cum ipsa fuit archa fidei et virtutum in sancto sabbato, Christo mortuo, et plus quam privati prelati habet rationem gignendi christicolas in virtute; secul enim est mater misericordie sic est mater aliarum virtutum que in filiis Dei spiritualiter procreantur. Ideo (ut dicit apostolus) saluta sepius hanc Mariam.”—*Sermones*, I. 112/37.]

p. 41, **L.** 636. *debat*. Debate is used now of discussion, no doubt often accompanied by very angry feelings; but in Early English it appears to have been invariably used of a quarrel or strife; and is so used in the A. V., 2 Cor. xii. 20. In Rom. i. 29, the *εριγ* ("debate") of the Greek is *contentio* in the Vulgate.

Shakspeare employs the word in its modern sense, and also according to the older use:—

"Now, lords, if heaven doth give successful end  
To this debate that bleedeth at our doors,  
We will our youth lead on to higher fields,  
And draw no swords but what are sanctified."

*2 Henry IV.*, IV. 4.

Hampole enumerates among venial sins:—

"When þou paynes þe noght, after þi state,  
To accorde þam þat er at debate."—*P. C.*, 3472-3.

p. 41, **L.** 637. *bylde many chirches*.

[“dubitatur de modo construccionis basilicarum tam fratrum quam omnium clericorum. Et videtur ex principio huius evangelii quod Christus reprobat ipsas tam opere quam sermone.”—*Sermones*, II. 328/17.]

p. 45, **L.** 689. *a thousand-fold more cursyd*. "Lord, hou louen þes curatis here sugetis soulis þat wolen for foure pens bitake hem bodi and soule to þe fend, ȝe, whanne þei may not paie for verray pouert, and whanne þei don not here gostly office; and þanne þe curatis ben more

cursed of god for wiþdrawynge of techynge in word, in dede, in good ensaumple þanne þe sugetis wiþdrawynge tiþes and offryngis whanne þei don wel here gostly office.”<sup>1</sup>

“ þis is a feyned word of anticristis clerkis þat, ȝif sugetis may leffully wiþdrawe tiþes and offryngis fro curatis þat openly lyuen in lecherie or grete opere synnes and don not here office, þan seruauntis and tenauntis may wiþdrawe here seruyce and rentis fro here lordis þat lyuen opynly a cursid lif. for to þe first sugetis han þe auctorite of goddis lawe and mannus lawe also, but not to wiþdrawe seruyce and rentis fro wickid lordis; but ben chargid of god bi petir and poul to be þus suget to wickid lordis; and þerfore crist paide for hym and his apostlis tribut to þe heþene emperour.”<sup>2</sup>

p. 45, L. 689. *suggettys wyþdrawyng here tythis.* The right, or rather the duty, of parishioners to withdraw their tythes from scandalous incumbents was frequently insisted upon by Wyyclif.

“ Siþ god seþ bi þe prophete þat euyl prestis ben cause of fallynge of þe peple, alle manere men ben bounde to amende þis defaute; for ells þei stonden not in goddis hestis ne charite. and here-fore gregory seiþ þat no man harneþ more cristis chirche þan he þat haþ þe name of ordre and holynesse and þer-wiþ lyueth euele, for comunly no man reproueþ hym, and men taken gretly ensaumple of his synne; and þerfore crist purgid þe temple with his owen hondis, as þe gospel telliþ, in tokene þat ȝif prestis weren good þe peple schulde sone be amendid. and for þis skille trewe men seyn þat prelatis ben more bounden to preche trewely þe gospel þan þes sugetis ben holden to paie here dymes, for god chargiþ þat more, and þat is more profitable to boþe parties and more esy. And þerfore prelatis ben more cursed to cesse of þis prechynge þanne þe sugetis ȝif þei cessen to paye tiþes; ȝe, whanne here prelatis don wel here offis.<sup>3</sup> . . . . . ȝif prelatis failen of good lif and techynge, þei moten be þus seruyd of men, for ȝif men vnder hem knowe þis defaute and may amenden it and don not þei consenten and meyntenen hem in þis grete synne.”<sup>4</sup>

“ Cristenmen of þis ground þenken þat parizschens shulden drawe fro persouns offeringis and dymes and opere godis whanne þey faylen opynly in þer offiss, for siche assent is to blame þat nurshipþ persouns in siche synne.”<sup>5</sup>

p. 46, T. 210. *Sklaunder or bacbite.* Cf. *Robert of Brunne* :—

“What sey ȝe of þys backbyters	þat he hauue euere lastyng shame,
þat wykkede wurdes aboute bers ?	Byfore God þou hym slos
þey make oft moche stryfe,	Whan þou hym reuest his gode los.
And apeynen many manrys lyfe.	Bakbyter, þurhе ryghte resun,
ȝyf þou bryng a man yn fame	Of þre mennys deþ ys enchesun.

<sup>1</sup> *The Office of Curates*, c. 5, *W. E. T.*, 146. It may be mentioned that Wyyclif elsewhere defends himself from any extension of his counsel to the case of laymen.

<sup>2</sup> *Of Servants and Lords*, *W. E. T.* 229-30. Here in the margin of the MS. is a reference, “ Matt. xvii.,” but it will be noticed that the payment of tribute there mentioned (*v. v.* 24-7), is altogether inapplicable to the argument, as it was the half-shekkel for the service of the temple.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. L. 691.

<sup>4</sup> *Of Prelatis*, c. 1, *W. E. T.*, 56-7.

<sup>5</sup> *De Officio Pastorali*, c. 8, *W. E. T.*, 418. See also *Of Clerkes Possessioners*, c. 25, *ib.*, 132. “ This withdrawing of tithes was the subject of the ninth of the twenty-five points that were charged against Wyyclif’s followers after his death, and is dealt with in an answer, which had been catalogued as among his works, but, as pointed out by Mr. Arnold, it was put forth after his death, and could not have proceeded from him.”—*S. E. W.*, III. 454.

Pou wost weyl, wyp outen les,  
De bakbyter fyrist hym self sles ;  
He slekþ hym hym þat trowyþ hys  
lesyng,  
Whan he forþ beryþ hys bakbytyng ;  
And hym algate þat hyt ys on leyde,

He ys slain ; Gode help þe vpbreyde.  
As moche þan he ys to blame  
þat ȝeuþ a man a yle eke name ;  
ȝyf hys ryȝt name he wyþdrawe,  
Gostlyche þou hast hym slawe."

*H. S.*, 1514—1533.

p. 46, T. 211. *withdrawes lyuelade*. So *Robert of Brunne* :—

“ȝyf þou þurhge wykkede ordynaunce  
Fordost pore manyns sustynaunce  
þat astyrwarde he may nat lyve,  
þou art coupable,—a ȝyfte y ȝyve.  
“ȝyf a pore man þe craue  
A melys mete hys lyfe to saue,  
ȝyf þou mayst ȝyue hym, and nat wylt,  
Before God þou hast hym spylt.”—*H. S.*, 1324—1331.

“They are slayers gasteley that will noghte feede the pover in nede, and that defames men and that confounds innocentys.”—*Richard of Hampole*, quoted by Canon Perry, *Ecclesiastic*, Jan. 1866, p. 15.

p. 47, L. 716. *wrongwysly*. Inserted in recognition of the exceptions which are commanded or allowed in the Word of God.

p. 47, L. 727. [“patet quanti sacerdotes et prelati specialiter sunt irregulares, cum a primo usque ad ultimum omnes subtrahunt spirituale suffragium nequiter occidendo. Et hec occisio causat apud Deum irregularitatem magis culpabilem quam occisio corporalis.”]—*Sermones*, I. 119/29.

p. 49, L. 768. *annrel rent*. These rents, levied by ecclesiastical judges from clergy and laymen alike for persistent adultery, fornication, and other notorious transgressions, had been authoritatively branded as a grave scandal before the time of Wyclif by Archbishop Stratford. In the constitutions—his so-called *Extravagants*—published in the Provincial Council of London, A.D. 1342, he endeavoured to abolish, or at least to regulate them. He broadly charges the archdeacons of his province of Canterbury, and their officials, and some bishops, though he only mentions these as “certain others, the archdeacons superiors” (*eorum superiores, quidem alii*) with remitting without making any distinction (*indifferenter*) the bodily and open penance, that should have been a terror to others, so that offenders of this sort were by many said to rent those sins. He adds that they put the money in their pockets, and did not dispose of it for the use of the poor or other good ends.<sup>1</sup>

We find the practice, against which the Archbishop raised his voice, had been alluded to in a satirical poem on the Evil Times of Edward II. :—

“And thisse erseteknes that ben set to visite holi churche  
Everich fondeth hu he may shrewedlichest worche ;  
He wole take mede of that on and that other,  
And late the parsoun have a wyf and the prest another,  
at wille ;  
Coveytise shal stoppen here mouth and maken hem al stille.”

*Political Songs*, ed. Wright, C. S., p. 326.

<sup>1</sup> *Lynd.*, III. 52, *Quoniam reus* : He ordains that, in case of persistence in notorious sin, no money shall be received on a second occasion, under pain of forfeiting double the amount to the fabric fund of the cathedral ; and that in those cases where money commutations might be hereafter allowed, they should be so moderate that the receiver should not be condemned as rapacious ; and the giver should not himself be too much burthened.

So, too, in the Complaint of the Ploughman :—

“ For a simple fornication  
Twenty shillings he shall pay ;  
And then have an absolution,  
And al the yere usen it forth he may.”

*Political Poems*, Wright, I. 324.

See also *E. W. of W.*, p. 35, and note on the passage, p. 495.

p. 50, **T.** 220. With this compare *Hampole* : “ The sevende Commandement es, Thou sal noght do na thyfte, in the whylke es forboden alle manere of withdrawyng of other mene thynges wrangwysely, agaynes thaire wylle that aghte it, [that has right to them, **T.** 224], but if it ware in en tyme of maste nede when alle thynges erre comone.” He goes on to speak of thefts by false weight and measures, as **L.** 787, but with the exhaustive specification of weight, number, capacity and length ; and he further specifies usurers, and the wrong doings of lords and minor officials, which are not mentioned in **L.**, as might have been expected from its tendency to enlarge upon offences against the lower classes.

“ And here is forbodene gillary of weghte, or of tale, or of mett, or of mesure, or thorowe okyre, or violence, or drede, als bedells or foresters duse and mynystrys of the kynge, or thurge extorcyon, als lords duse.”<sup>1</sup>

p. 51, **L.** 796. In the Ayenbite, in the handwriting of, and translated by Dan Michel, who was a monk of St. Augustine’s at Canterbury, we do not find these distinctions drawn, but he divides breakers of this commandment into open thieves by sea and land, who take their doom when caught ; sly thieves who steal in corners, and privy thieves, who abuse their employer’s confidence. P. 37.

p. 51, **L.** 802. *al þo þat wast here godis*, &c. I think that in this paragraph Wyclif was making reference to the clergy, although without naming them. (This is certainly the case in the next paragraph as to the Friars and questors.) He asserts frequently that all the income of the clergy, beyond what they absolutely need for a livelihood, is the property of the poor, but this rests on his theory that the clergy should live on alms, and I am not aware that he ever makes a similar statement concerning laymen, who may hold property. Still, without laying it down as a political or social law, he may very well have taught that the rich were bound not to waste their superfluous wealth, but to expend it on the poor.—F. D. M.

p. 51, **L.** 802. Further note :—“ For it was neuer cristis lore to make prestis riche and knyȝtis pore,” &c. &c. See, “ The Clergy may not hold property,” a tract ascribed by Dr. Shirley to Wyclif, but regarded as doubtful by Mr. Matthew (*Eng. Works of W.*, p. 359). Mr. M. thinks that W. may have derived from William of Ockham, the bold defender of the Empire against the Pope, his strong belief that it is the duty of priests to live in poverty : and he points out from a tract of his upon the claim of Urban V. to the arrears of tribute due under John’s vassalage, that he had formed this opinion as early as 1366.—H. E. N.

p. 53, **L.** 808. *as þe wysis man says.* “ Where ? ” is Canon Simmons’ note in margin. I suppose the reference is to Eccl. xxxiv. 25. “ Panis egentium vita pauperum est : qui defraudat illum, homo sanguinis est.”—F. D. M.

p. 53, **L.** 813. “ Bot þei (*Freris*) chargen so myche þis roten habite, for herby þo puple wenes þat þei ben holy, and gyven hom more dritt þen

<sup>1</sup> *The Ten Commandments*, u. s. p. 16.

is nedeful or profitable. And herfore iche partȝe drawnen oþer to helle,—þo freris for hor fals takyng of almes when no need is, ne þei have levee of Gods lawe þerto,—þo blynde puple, for þei drawnen hor almes fro hor pore and nedys neghboris, where þei schulden do hit by þo heest of God, and mayntenen freris in hor fals beggyng, yþocrisie, and oþer synnes mony.”—Wyclif, *Fifty Heresies*, cap. 29; *S. E. W.*, III. 389.

p. 55, **L.** 844. *alle þat sey. þat cryst beggyd, &c.* “þes freris seyn þe contrarie and grounden hem an ordre of þer wilful beggyng, bi men þat han no nede; and herbe schulde men hope to sitt hye in lieuen, for, as þei lien falsly, crist begged þus.”—*W. E. T.*, 352/3.

“Secundus abusus fratrum est crimen blasphemiae quo imponunt in christum, quod mendicavit notabiliter ab homine.”—*Trial*. 367 (cf. *Trial*. 341, 345).

p. 55, **L.** 847. *among his pepyl schuld no begger be.* “Et omnino indigens et mendicus non erit inter vos,” *Deut.* xv. 4.—F. D. M.

p. 54, **T.** 232, and p. 55, **L.** 859. It will be noticed that the arrangement of the commandments differs, **T.** following the order of Exodus and the division which now prevails in the R. C. and Lutheran churches, while **L.** takes the order of *Deut.* v. 21, and divides in a way which, having the authority of Augustine, did not die out until the arrangement was decided at the Council of Trent.

Wyclif's tract on the Ten Commandments, published by Mr. Arnold (*S. E. W.*, III. 90), agrees with **T.** in arrangement, as well as in its explanation that the ninth commandment refers to things “that ben immevable.” It would seem that the Decalogue agreed with our English law in recognizing an important distinction between real property and chattels.

The difficulty of satisfactorily dividing these commandments is shown by the fact that in the Catechism of the Council of Trent, as in **L.**, they are combined under one exposition.—F. D. M.

p. 55, **L.** 866. *werk-best.* In both Wycliffite versions this is “ass” both in Exodus and Deuteronomy, but the *jumentum* of *Ex.* xx. 10, is translated “werkebeest”—F. D. M.

p. 57, **L.** 882 and 885. Bulls of pardon and letters of fraternity are common objects of Wyclif's denunciation. He more rarely attacks chantries, although he does not spare them on occasion. (Cf. *Polemical Works*, 272, and *E. W. of W.*, 177.) The foundation of chantries was the fashionable form of endowment. Men had ceased to believe in the holiness of the various orders, and preferred to get a sure return for their money in the shape of masses for their intention. Sometimes the foundations were temporary, as in the will of John Chelmyswyk (*Earliest English Wills*, 31/13), who left £70 to pay two priests for seven years. In other cases it was perpetual. Thus Thomas Walwayn leaves certain properties for “a chaunterie in Marcle-chyrch . . . for a prest to seynge thir perpetually,” *Id.* 25/10.—F. D. M.

p. 62, 63, **T.** 277, **L.** 991. *bathe, byrthe.* Against **T.** Canon Simmons has written in the margin “mistake of scribe,” and against the “byrthe” of **L.** he has marked “regeneration.” I cannot tell whether this is merely a note for consideration, or expresses his settled opinion. It appears to me, looking at the context, that “bathe” is correct; it corresponds to the *lavacrum* of *Eph.* v. 26.—F. D. M. (I think that the pencilled “mistake of scribe” refers not to the ink-mark over “bathe,” but to the pencilled mark in the previous line, transposing the order of the words, “first the.” **L.** has “þat we take furst, whan we be-come cristyn”; and it makes

better sense in **T.** to read "That we take first, the tyme that we becum cristen.")—H. E. N.

p. 62, **T.** 288:—

"Hiȝt moght be do ine kende water,  
And non other licour."—*Shoreham*, 8.

He goes on to exclude wine, cider, perry, ale, "for-thie it were water ferst."

p. 65, **L.** 1015. *be þe grace*, &c. It will be noticed here that whereas **T.** says that the bishop confers the grace and gifts of the Holy Ghost; the sacerdotal power is made less of in **L.**, where we are told that the bishop gives "by the grace . . . that is of God's grant." Probably the same idea has caused the change in the line 305/1018, where the statement that the bishop alone has this power is altered into one, that only the bishop ought to do this sacrament.

p. 66, **T.** 318. *Als hale as he toke it*, &c. "Jam vero hoc loco a pastoribus explicandum est, non solum verum Christi corpus, et quicquid ad veram corporis rationem pertinet, veluti ossa et nervos, sed etiam totum Christum in hoc sacramento contineri."—*Cat. of Council of Trent*, P. II., C. IV., Qu. xxxi.

And again: "Neque vero illud praetermittendum non solum in utraque specie, sed in quavis utriusque speciei particula totum Christum contineri."—*Id.*, Qu. xxxiv.

In the corresponding passage, **L.** 1131, the alteration "ryȝt as he tok it," might have suggested the conclusion that the reviser held that the Body and Blood of Christ were given in the sacrament, as they were sundered by his death; His Body being right as he took it of the Blessed Virgin, and not changed as at His resurrection into a glorified body. But we find nothing in Wyclif to justify this suggestion. He and the Lollards in general, whatever divergence there may have been as to the mode of the real presence, do not seem to have scrupled at the received practice as to the administration of the sacrament under one kind.

In his *de Incarnatione*, Wyclif says of the host, "fit signum signans nobis ineffabiliter quod ad omnem punctum sui sit sacramentaliter corpus Christi et concomitanter anima et omnia alia Christi accidentia absoluta."—*Fas. Ziz.*, lxi. [p. 190 of Mr. Harris' edition.]

p. 66, **T.** 320. *anes in the yhere*. The rule as to communicating is thus laid down in the *Pupilla Oculi*, written in 1358.

"¶ Nota secundum constitutionem ecclesiæ quod omnis fidelis tam vir quam mulier, post quam ad annos discretionis pervenerit, tenetur semel in anno omnia peccata sua confiteri proprio sacerdoti; et ad minus in paschate sumere eucharistiae sacramentum, nisi ob rationabilem causam de consilio proprii sacerdotis duxerit abstinendum.

"Alioquin vivens ab ingressu ecclesiæ arceatur et moriens Christiana careat sepultura: et hoc statutum ne ignoretur, debet frequenter in ecclesiis publicari. *Ex. de pe. et re. cap. omnis utriusque sexus.*

"Unde pueri cum sint prope ætatem adultam, scilicet cum sint decem annorum vel undecim, et apparent in eis signa discretionis et reverentiæ ad sacramentum possunt communionem et sacramenta assumere: alias non."—*Pars IV. cap. viii. fol. xix. G.*

The Wycliffite edition (**L.** 633) adopts the rule as to the minimum of once a year at Easter; but in *Piers the Plowman* we find once a month:—

"Her is bred yblessid · and godes body þer-under.  
Grace gaf þorw godes worde · to peers ploughman power.

and myghte to maken hit · and men for to eten hit,  
in helpe of here hele · ones in a monthe,  
Ober as ofte as thei hadde neode."—C. xxii. 387—391.

p. 66, C. 178. *vivum*. In the *Lay Folks' Mass-Book*, p. 227, note four, I have printed this as *unum*. I had so read the MS. many years ago, when I was engaged in collecting materials for a *History of the Doctrine of the Eucharist*, and I found no difficulty in the expression from referring it to the doctrine of concomitance, which was at this time naturally received among theologians in this country. The MS. was very indistinct, but, on examination, there were only five strokes, and an "m" superscript, and not six as there would have been for *unum*.

It so happens that my misreading of the text does not affect its doctrinal import. With either reading it teaches equally that the *res sacramenti* is not the broken body and the outshed blood of Christ as sundered by his death, but, as now defined by the Council of Trent, the whole Christ. (See note on T. 318.)

p. 67, L. 1025. *opyn schrift of oure mouþ*. It will be noticed that the authorized doctrine as to confession is here reproduced without qualification, as is the mention of penance, L. 1035.

Open shrift is no doubt here used, not for "common" telling of sin,<sup>1</sup> or "general shrift and open to man,"<sup>2</sup> as public confession was called by Wyclif, but of private confession in which the penitent opened his sin to the priest. This is an argument for the early date of the Wycliffite adaptation, for in his later tracts Wyclif, whilst allowing the benefit of confession made by mouth to a wise priest of living,<sup>3</sup> and that the pope's law may "do profit to some,"<sup>4</sup> enlarges upon the dangers to chastity<sup>5</sup> and other evils<sup>6</sup> incident to enforced private confession; and, so far from counting penance as one of the seven sacraments, lays it down that "privy sorrow of the heart is no sacrament of the Church, nor privy rowning (whispering) late brought in, for sacraments be open and known."<sup>7</sup>

p. 67, L. 1039, 1040. *to hys saluacioun, to his da[m]pnacioun*. It will be seen that L. here adds *to*, in this following the more accurate language of earlier writers:—

"Alle þey þat receyue þis sacrament  
Yn dedly synne or wykkede entent,—  
\* \* \* \* \* \*  
Hyt ys to here dampnacyun  
And þerfore veniaunce shal be doun."—H. S., 10152-7.

p. 68, T. 329. *halowed and handeled of prest*. There is an opening for misunderstanding here. The oil was consecrated only by the bishop, once a year (on Holy Thursday), although of course administered by the priest. It is noticeable that this statement is given without variation in L. 1042, because it was one of Wyclif's charges against the prelates that they reserved to themselves the consecration of the oil (among other things) as a means of gain.—W. E. T., 69.

p. 68, T. 330/331.

"To tham that he wate er of skillwise elde,  
And that he seis sikerly in peril of dede."

<sup>1</sup> W. E. T., 335. <sup>2</sup> W. E. T., 338. <sup>3</sup> S. E. W., III. 461.

<sup>4</sup> S. E. W., III. 358, and "I wot þat þise new confessions han don myche good in þe chirche and þerwiþ myche harme."—W. E. T., 337.

<sup>5</sup> "Freres and religious wymmen mai sone assente to lechere."—S. E. W., III. 358. Cf. W. E. T., 330.

<sup>6</sup> W. E. T., 331.

<sup>7</sup> W. E. T., 341.

These are almost the words of the *Rituale Romanum* :—“Debet autem hoc Sacramentum infirmis praeberi, qui, cum ad usum rationis pervenerint, tam graviter laborant ut mortis periculum imminere videatur.” (*Romea*, 1750, p. 101.)—F. D. M.

p. 69, **L.** 1053. *for to syng messis.* This insistence on singing masses as the first duty of the priest is curious, since it does not correspond to anything in Wyclif's special teaching. It is the more noticeable, as all the rest of this instruction on the sacraments is copied almost word for word.—F. D. M.

p. 70, **T.** 363. *Vestio.* This is an error for *visito* (see **C.** 206). The *tego* (sc. nudum) being the word for this in the memorial verse.—T. F. S.

This verse will be found in Wyclif's *Latin Sermons*, vol. i. p. 259, where it runs :—“visito poto cibo redimo tego colligo condo.” With the remark, as in **C.**, “Sex istorum patent Marci xxv<sup>o</sup>., et septimum de mortuorum sepultura patet Thobie I<sup>o</sup>.”

It will be noticed that there is a difference of order in each of the texts. The biblical order would run, as in **C.** :—“Cibo, poto, colligo, tego, visito, redimo, condo.”—F. D. M.

p. 71, **L.** 1060—1065. This greater insistence in **L.** on the work of mercy is characteristic, and the note thus struck is maintained in the long additional passage, 1078—1142.

p. 72, **L.** 1090. *þe yþocrytys.* In the sidenote Canon Simmons gives “friars” as the hypocrites in question, but a MS. note in the margin questions whether friars only are meant, with a reference to p. 53. No doubt the meaning is wider. It applies to all who spend alms in self-indulgence and display; and since Wyclif reckoned all tithes as alms, it applies to the endowed clergy as well as the friars.—F. D. M.

p. 73, **L.** 1115. *with þe stole of vndedlynnesse.* A reference to 1 Cor. xv. 54, which runs in both Wycliffite versions, “whanne this deedly thing schal clothe vndedlynnesse” (induerit immortalitatem vulg.).—F. D. M.

p. 73, **L.** 1119. *þe worldly tytyl.* “duplici titulo stat hominem habere temporalia, scilicet titulo originalis justitiae et titulo mundanae justitiae. Titulo autem originalis justitiae habuit Christus omnia bona mundi, ut saepe declarat Augustinus; illo titulo vel titulo gratiae justorum sunt omnia, sed longe ab illo titulo civilis possessio. Unde Christus et sui apostoli spreta dominatione et possessione civili fuerunt de habitione pure secundum primum titulum contentati.”—*Trialogus*, IV. xvii., p. 306.

p. 75, **L.** 1134. *presonyd for hate and for trewthe þat þey mayntene.* Wyclif's short tract, *Lincolniensis* (S. E. W., III. 230), is chiefly directed against the wickedness of imprisoning poor priests. After the Council at Blackfriars, May 1382, in which the tenets of Wyclif were condemned, the King issued a letter giving power to the bishops to commit to prison all who maintained the twenty-four condemned conclusions :—“Nos zelo fidei catholicae, cuius sumus et esse volumus defensores in omnibus ut tenemur, commoti, nolentesque sustinere hujusmodi hereses aut errores infra terminos nostrae potestatis aliqualiter pululare; praefato archiepiscopo ejusque suffraganeis ad omnes et singulos qui dictas conclusiones sic damnatas praedicare seu manutenere voluerint clam vel palam, ubicunque inveniri poterunt, arestandum et prisoniis suis propriis seu aliorum pro eorum beneplacito committendum, in eisdem detinendos quoque ab errorum et heresum pravitatis resipiscant, . . . auctoritatem et licenciam tenore presencium concedimus et committimus, June 22, 1382.”—*Lambeth Register*.

This letter is of a later date than our treatise, but the bishops' prisons were an old-standing institution. Moreover, their power was not restricted to putting such offenders as they dared to arrest in their prisons. It was the duty of the Chancellor, on petition of the ordinary, to imprison any one who had remained under the major excommunication for forty days.

—F. D. M.

p. 76, **T.** 374. *Unde versus, &c.* In Wyclif's *Latin Sermons* (I. 248), the memorial verse is but of one line:—"Doc. consul. castig. solare, remitte, fer, ora." This is no doubt one of the school helps to memory. It will be noticed that while **L.** keeps to this order, which is also that of the tract printed by Mr. Arnold (*S. E. W.*, III. 177), **T.** departs from the order of its own verse, and puts prayer out of place.

The author of **L.** is more diffuse in his exhortation, but he has not the poetic fervour which breaks out in the verse **T.**, 376/379.—F. D. M.

p. 76/77, **C.** 124, and **P.** 176. It will be noticed that **C.** confines the term "principal" to the theological virtues, while he distinguishes the moral virtues as "cardinal"; **P.**, on the other hand, while marking off the theological virtues from the others, includes them all under "principal."

p. 82, **L.** 1224. *in here abyte of hire ordre.* Wyclif inveighs very sharply against this claim on the part of the friars,<sup>1</sup> which as regards the Franciscans had in some degree received the papal sanction in the early part of the century. Wadding, reciting indulgences granted by Clement V. in 1313, says—"Et sepeliendis in habitu Minorum quartam partem omnium peccatorum remisit."<sup>2</sup> It was also a subject of "invective" on the part of the Lollards. Thus Jacke Upland:—

"Why make ye men beleeve  
that he that is buried  
in your habit  
shal never come in hel?"<sup>3</sup>

We may judge from the reply of Friar Dan Topias, that he felt the question an awkward one:—

"Jak, that frere was over lewid  
that lernede the this lessoun  
or on thi fical fantasie  
thou fayuyyst this fable.  
Ffor Austyns ne prechours  
proponen no siche pointis.

whether the carmes of her copes  
mayntenen siche an errour,  
or whether seint Fraunce  
hath geten to his habite  
that vertu be his grace  
witterly me ne wote."<sup>4</sup>

Bishop Latimer, in 1536, preaching before the Convocation of Canterbury, speaks of purgatory being "swaged and cooled with a Franciscan's cowl put upon a dead man's back to the fourth part of his sins."<sup>5</sup>

Bloxam (*Gothic Eccles. Architecture*, ed. 1882, II. p. 289-90) figures and describes a fourteenth century monument of a knight in chain-mail, and over it the Franciscan cowl, hood, and knotted cord:—

"And they, who to be sure of Paradise  
Dying, put on the weeds of Dominic,  
Or in Franciscan thought to pass disguised."

The practice has survived among Roman Catholics:—"He died in the Dominican habit" (*Memoir of William Henry Wilberforce*, by Cardinal Newman, p. 15, 1873).

<sup>1</sup> See for example, *Polemical Works* (Buddensieg), pp. 143 and 306.

<sup>2</sup> *Annales Minorum* (Lugduni, 1636), III. 148. <sup>3</sup> *Political Poems*, II. 21.

<sup>4</sup> *Id.* 82. <sup>5</sup> *Sermons of Bp. Latimer*, P. S. I., 50.

p. 82, **L.** 1225. *parlows* :—

“ Youre preaching is perilouse  
It poisoneth sone.”

Dan Topias (to Jacke Upland), *Pol. Poems*, 2513.

p. 86, **T.** 451. *The seven capital sins.* It will be noticed that here, as with the Virtues, the order differs, the two English agreeing together to follow the order of **P.** The **C.** order is adopted by Wyclif in the *Trialogus* (p. 160), as in his tract, “On the Seven Deadly Sins,” where he gives a reason for this arrangement:—“*þo fende, and þo worlde, and monnes owne flesche, stiren hym to coveyte ageynes God's wille.* And so iche one of þes haves thre synnes, ffor ich one takes at other, and þese maken seven. *Pride envye and wrath ben synnes of þo fende; wrathe slouthe and avarice ben synnes of þo world; avarice and gloterye, and þo synne of lecherye ben synnes of þo flesche.*”—*S. E. W.*, III. 121.—F. D. M.

p. 88, **T.** 452. Dan Michel in the *Ayenbite*, or rather the author of his French original,<sup>1</sup> refers to the ‘Book of the seeings of my Lord Saint Iohn’ (Rev. xiii.), and his vision of the Beast with seven heads and ten horns as betokening the seven head sins (“*þe zeuen hauedliche zennes*”), and prefaces his interpretation of the prophecy with the warning that it scarcely happens that one does not fall into the throat of one of the seven heads.<sup>2</sup>

It is more probable that the name of head sins is a translation of the Latin *Peccata capitalia*.

p. 94, **T.** 537, 538. Job v. 7 runs in the Vulgate:—“*Homo nascitur ad laborem, et avis ad volatum.*”

p. 94, **T.** 549. *leue*—permission. In the use of this word we find a further example of the way in which marriage was often regarded in the Middle Ages, in contrast with the greater theoretical sanctity of celibate life. Cf. *ante*, **T.** 518:—“other than the sacrament of maternony excuse,” and the corresponding Latin of the Convocation: *quam sacramentum matrimonii non excusat.* “*Matrimonium coelibatui postponendum.*”—*Conc. Trid.*, S. c. x. See also *Montanus against Marriage*, I. 83 a. Cf. 1 Tim. iv. 3: “*forbidding to marry.*”

p. 97, **L.** 1409. *grettyst synne is in prestis.* **L.** as usual does not spare the priests. **T.** does not enlarge upon their sin, and this very possibly from no desire to screen them, but because it was intended for the lay folk, and to warn them as to what more directly concerned their own order. There is no such reticence in the *Handlyng Synne*, though it was intended “*for lewde men.*” In reference to this sin it says:—

“A clerk, ȝyf he ordred be,  
Hys synne ys more þan ouþer þre,  
For he douȝ þat he shulde forbede

And chastyse ouþere of swyche drede,  
And þarto mochil more kan  
þan a noþer<sup>3</sup> lewede man.”

*H. S.*, 7408-13.

<sup>1</sup> *Ayenbite*, 14 (notes), p. 272.

<sup>2</sup> “*Vor onneaþe yualþ* (/) þet me ne nalþ (/) in-to þe þrote (/) of zome: of þe zeue heauedes.”—*Id.* p. 15.

<sup>3</sup> “*Another*” is used substantively, as in A. V.: “*There were also two other, malefactors, led with him.*”—*St. Luke xxiii. 32.*

## GLOSSARY.

A, *adj. num.* one, T. 84, 95, 127.  
 Acorde, *v.* to be suitable to, to befit, L. 298.  
 Aftyr, *prep.* according to, L. 314, 321, &c.  
 Agayn, *prep.* contrary to, against, L. 813.  
 Agreuyd, *pp.* burdened (in conscience), L. 947.  
 Alanely, *adv.* only, alone, T. 399.  
 Alegeaunce, *s.* alleviation, T. 332 (Aleggaunce, L. 1045).  
 Alkyn, *adj.* all manner, T. 315.  
 Alkyns, *adj.* all kinds, T. 542.  
 Allane, *adj.* one, T. 100.  
 Als, *conj.* as, for example, T. 511.  
 Als — als, *conj.* as — as, T. 209, 210.  
 Anely, *adv.* only, alone, T. 398.  
 Antecrist, *s.* Antichrist, L. 212, 315, 322.  
 Anoye, *s.* ennui, disgust, T. 525.  
 Ar, *3 p. pl.* = are, L. 286.  
 Archebyschop, *s.* Archbishop, L. 391.  
 Archiepyschop, *s.* Archbishop, L. 49.  
 Arn, *3 per. pl.* are, L. 104, 639, 1299.  
 Aselyd, *pp.* sealed, L. 890.  
 Askynkys, *s. pl.* things asked for, petitions (note the Midland *k*), L. 68.  
 A-spye, *subj. pl. 3 per.* enquire, ascertain, L. 384.  
 Assethe, *s.* satisfaction, restitution, T. 246.  
 Assoiled, *pp.* absolved, T. 245.  
 At, *sign of infinitive*, to [see note, p. 295, *Lay Folks' Mass Book*], T. 208, 321 (L. 2, 1034).  
 At, *prep.* to, L. 35, 735.  
 At, *conj.* that, T. 516.

At, *pron. rel.* that, which, T. 209, 246, 516.  
 Athē, *s.* oath, T. 255.  
 Attanasy, Athanasius, L. 227.  
 Auantyng, *s.* boasting, speaking with vanity (*Lat. vanus*), T. 467.  
 Auanta-makyng, *s.* vain boasting, L. 1315.  
 Aughtand, *adj. num.* eighth, T. 225.  
 Auerous, *adj.* avaricious (*Lat. avarus*), L. 750, 754.  
 Augh, *pr. pl. impers.* ought, T. 171, 262, 365, 419.  
 Augh, *pr. pl. 1 per.* owe, T. 418.  
 Augh, *pr. s.* ought, is bound to, T. 273.  
 Augh, *pr. s.* ought, T. 320.  
 Augh, *pr. s. impers.* ought, T. 325.  
 Auoutry, *s.* explained by spouse-brek, T. 551.  
 Avowtry, *s.* adultery, L. 762.  
 Awe, *impers.* ought, T. 106.  
 Awe, *v. pers. pl.* ought, T. 191.  
 Ay, *adv.* aye, ever, T. 477.  
 Aynlepi, *adj.* single, unmarried, T. 547.  
 Azen, *prep.* against, L. 1284.  
 Azens, *prep.* against, L. 133.  
 Azens, *prep.* anent, concerning, L. 394.  
 Azenst, *prep.* against, L. 159, 1286.  
 Bacbite, *pr. pl. 1 per.* backbite, T. 210.  
 Bacbityng, *s.* backbiting, T. 478.  
 Bakbyters, *s. pl.* backbiters, L. 734, 798.  
 Bathe, *adv. or conj.* both, T. 127, 161, 385.  
 Bathe, *adv.* both, equally, alike, T. 386.

Bathe, *dual adj.* both, T. 400.  
 Be-heet, *pt. pl. 1 per.* promised, L. 1211.  
 Be, *prep.* by, on account, T. 41, L. 47.  
 Be, *prep.* by means of, T. 511.  
 Be, *pr. pl.* are, L. 195.  
 Bedreden, *adj.* bedridden, L. 639, 810.  
 Behotys, *pr. s.* promises, L. 1251.  
 Behoues, *pr. s.* behoves, requires, T. 310.  
 Behoues, *impers.* behoves, requires, T. 349.  
 Behouely, *adv.* when need requires, befittingly, T. 185.  
 Be-houys, *impers.* behoves, L. 330, 368, 1023.  
 Beleue, *s.* faith, belief, L. 223.  
 Ben, *pr. pl.* are, L. 168, 187, 238, 244, &c.  
 Besily, *adv.* diligently, L. 384.  
 Bestad, *adj.* bestead, hard pressed, L. 516.  
 Blinnes, *pr. s.* ceases, T. 32, 397.  
 Bolnyng, *verbal subs.* swelling [Exod. ix. 31], T. 484.  
 Bonchef, *s.* prosperity, good fortune, L. 650.  
 Bone, *s.* boon, the thing granted, L. 139.  
 Boste, *v.* to boast, L. 313.  
 Bot, *conj.* unless, except, T. 450.  
 Bot if, *conj.* unless, T. 246.  
 Bothe—bothe, *dual adj.* L. 1191.  
 Bother, *dual adj. gen.* of both, T. 344.  
 Brenne, *v.* to burn, L. 923.  
 Brennynge, *part. pres.* L. 927.  
 But, *conj.* unless, L. 126, 167, &c.  
 Buth, *pr. pl.* are (see Ben), L. 173.  
 Buxon, *adj.* submissive, obedient, docile, T. 203, L. 82.  
 By, *v.* to redeem, L. 290.  
 Cald, *pp.* called, styled, named, T. 307, 452, 454.  
 Can, *pr. pl. subj.* if we know, T. 373.  
 Castys, *pr. s.* devises, plots, L. 1097.  
 Castys, *s. pl.* devices, schemes, L. 139.  
 Catell, *s.* property, T. 229, 242, &c.  
 Chargis, *pr. s.* values, esteems, L. 1144.  
 Charite, *s.* love of Christ to man, L. 618.  
 Chastyte, *s.* chastity. The vow of chastity, whether in marriage or religion. L. 763.  
 Chese, *v.* to choose, T. 429, L. 1277.  
 Childyr, *s. pl.* children, L. 286.  
 Chydynge, *s.* chiding, contention, quarrelling, L. 1366.  
 Clatheless, *adj.* naked, T. 356.  
 Clepyd, *pp.* called, L. 1020.  
 Clerk, *s.* scholar, T. 1, 11.  
 Cloþ, *s.* clothing, garment, L. 668, 1243.  
 Clowtyd, *pp.* added, tacked on, L. 176.  
 Comen, *adj.* common to, L. 261.  
 Commonys, *pr. s.* has part with, L. 324.  
 Communers, *s. pl.* partakers, T. 9.  
 Compas, *v.* to contrive, plan, T. 501 (To kast, L. 1349).  
 Conandly, *adv.* intelligently, clearly, T. 574 (kunnyngly, L. 1426).  
 Conandnesse, *s.* mind, secret inclination, T. 514.  
 Confermyng, *s.* the sacrament of confirmation, T. 299.  
 Confort, *v.* to strengthen, to support, L. 686.  
 Coniurisons, *s. pl.* conjurations, T. 179 (coniurynge, L. 546).  
 Contraryyd, *pt. s.* acted the contrary part to, L. 185.  
 Cope, *s.* the monastic habit or *cappa*, L. 1232.  
 Crede of þe chyrche = Nicene Creed, L. 226.  
 Cristen, *adj.* Christian, T. 119.  
 Cristen, *adv.* christianly, T. 390.  
 Cristenly, *adv.* christianly, T. 204.  
 Cristyndom, *s.* baptism, L. 560, 561, 1211.  
 Crokyd, *adj.* crooked, bent double with age, lame, L. 640.  
 Cun, *v.* to con, to learn by heart, L. 230, 380.  
 Customyd, *pp.* habitually practised, L. 1407.  
 Dampnynge, *s.* damnation, L. 186.  
 Debat, *s.* strife, dissension, L. 636, 735.  
 Dede, *s.* death, T. 108.  
 Defaitor, *s.* fault, defect, T. 38.

Defawte, *s.* defect, omission.  
 Deinynge, *s.* judgment, condemnation, L. 1325.  
 Depart, *v.* to sunder, L. 1275.  
 Dere, *v.* to injure, L. 831.  
 Dere, *adj.* dear, precious, T. 407.  
 Desesed, *pp.* deprived, dispossessed, T. 252.  
 Despit, *s.*, L. 1410.  
 Despite, *s.* contumely, T. 468.  
 Dette, *s.* duty, T. 41, L. 47.  
 Dettours, *s. pl.* debtors, L. 123, 131.  
 Dettys, *s. pl.* debts, trespasses, L. 123, 130.  
 Devowt, *adj.* helpful to devotion, L. 203.  
 Dey, *v.* to die, L. 157.  
 Disese, *s.* distress, L. 1149.  
 Doluen, *pp.* buried, *pp.* of delve, to dig, to bury, T. 138.  
 Don, *pp.* slain, L. 291.  
 Doyng out = *part. pres.* casting out, excommunicating, T. 323, L. 1036.  
 Dryt, *s.* dirt, L. 771.  
 Dyscrecioun, *s.* power to discern, L. 620.  
 Eche day, *adj.* daily, L. 108, 115.  
 Eld, *s.* age, T. 65.  
 Eldrys, *s. pl.* parents, L. 710.  
 Enquestes, *s. pl.* courts of inquest, enquiry, T. 249.  
 Eny, *adj.* any, L. 208.  
 Er, *pr. pl.* are, T. 55.  
 Eschewe, *v.* to eschew, avoid, beware of, L. 348.  
 Ese, *s.* ease, sloth, idleness, T. 539.  
 Euen, *adj.* equal, T. 89, 92.  
 Euen-cristen, *s.* fellow Christian, T. 56, 229.  
 Euynhede, *s.* equanimity, L. 1290.  
 Faes, *s. pl.* foes, T. 436 (Foys, L. 1284).  
 Falles, *pr. pl.* pertain, T. 53, 78, &c.  
 Fand, *v.* to endeavour, T. 458.  
 Fandes, *pr. pl.* attempt, T. 211.  
 Fare, *s.* fortune, hap, T. 435.  
 Felaschype, *s.* fellowship, L. 418.  
 Felawred, *s.* fellowship, T. 101.  
 Feyb, *s.* the Faith, L. 370.  
 Filed, *pp.* defiled, T. 279.  
 Flityng, *s.* contention, chiding, T. 487.  
 Fole, *adj.* foul, unclean, T. 442.  
 Foly, *v.* to work folly, T. 215, L. 755.  
 Fondē, *v.* to endeavour, L. 1306.  
 Fondyng, *s.* temptation, L. 1285.  
 For, *adv.* because, T. 10, L. 10, 114, 116, &c.  
 Fordo, *v.* to destroy, T. 489.  
 Forhoue, *v.* to forsake, T. 449.  
 Forloke, *s.* foreknowledge, T. 143.  
 Forme-fadirs, forefathers, T. 21.  
 Forme-fadyr, T. 16.  
 Forthi, *adv.* because, T. 33.  
 Forthinking, *s.* repentance, T. 308.  
 Forthynk, *v.* to repent of, L. 1230.  
 Forþynkyng, *s.* vexation, repining, L. 1319.  
 Foster, *v.* to foster, nourish, bring up, T. 199.  
 Foughel, *s.* fowl, bird, T. 538.  
 Fourtied, *adj.* fortieth, T. 152.  
 Fredam, *s.* freedom, L. 161.  
 Fremned, *adj.* strange, T. 216.  
 Fresched, *pp.* refreshed, invigorated, nourished, strengthened, L. 119.  
 Froward, *adj.* perverse, L. 727, 767, &c.  
 Froyt, *s.* fruit, L. 201.  
 Furst, *adv.* first, in the first place, L. 214, 255, &c.  
 Fynd, *s.* fiend, L. 496, &c.  
 Fyrst, *adj.* first, L. 240, &c.  
 Gastely, *adj.* ghostly, spiritual, T. 364.  
 Gastely, *adv.* spiritually, T. 455.  
 Genderyng, *s.* bringing forth, L. 199.  
 General, *adj.* Catholic, L. 306.  
 Gere, *v.* to cause, T. 250.  
 Ger, *pr. s. subj.* require, T. 497.  
 Gilery, *s.* guile, deceit, T. 512.  
 Glosaris, *s. pl.* commentators (usually, but here) makers of false interpretations, L. 855, 856.  
 Godspel, *s.* gospel, T. 573.  
 Godys seruyse = Divine Office = The Breviary, L. 569, 573.  
 Gretynge, *s.* greeting, salutation; here, the "Hail Mary," L. 163.  
 Gretyb, *pr. pl.* salute, L. 163.  
 Grucchis, *pr. s.* grudges, mislikes, L. 322.  
 Gruuchyngge, *s.* murmuring, L. 642, 740.

Haldes, *pr. s.* retains, keeps possession of, T. 521, 523.

Hale, *adj.* whole, T. 323.

Hali, *adj.* whole, undivided, T. 100.

Halowes, *s. pl.* saints, T. 193.

Ham, *pron.* them, L. 329.

Hanked, *pp.* bound, entangled, T. 456. Cf. "a hank of yarns."

Hatten, *pp.* called, T. 470.

Hauie, *v.* to behave, T. 383.

Haueing, *s.* means, wealth, competence, T. 213.

Haunted, *pp.* practised, T. 534.

Hauntyng, *s.* practising, indulging, L. 654.

Hede, *v.* to restrain, to hold back, T. 441.

Hede, *s.* care, charge, T. 200.

Held, *pp.* remained entire, T. 134.

Hele, *s.* salvation, T. 104, 570, L. 1422.

Hele, *s.* health of body, T. 333, L. 1280.

Hele, *adj.* saved, in the way of salvation, T. 105.

Hele, *v.* to heal, L. 522.

Hele, *v.* to cover, to clothe, L. 1088.

Helyng, *s.* concealing, T. 223.

Herber, *v.* to harbour, to lodge, T. 357.

Herberwye, *v.* to harbour, to lodge, L. 1072.

Herberwles, *adj.* homeless, L. 1072, 1116.

Here, *pron.* their, L. 326, 421, &c.

Here, *pron. acc. fem.* her, L. 706, 707, &c.

Here, *adv.* here, L. 317, 324.

Here-fore, *adv.* for this reason, L. 66, 146.

Herer, *s.* hearer, listener, T. 482.

Heried, *pt. s.* harrowed, despoiled, T. 141. A.S. *hergian*, from here, army.

Hertles, *adj.* listless, half-hearted, L. 1375.

Hertly, *adv.* at heart, in the heart, T. 525.

Heste, *s.* commandment, L. 606, 770, &c.

Hestys, *s. pl.* commands, L. 564.

Hethen, *adv.* hence, T. 335.

Heþyn, *s.* heathen, L. 718.

Heued synnes = Capital or deadly sins, T. 448.

Heued thewes = Cardinal and Theological virtues, T. 382.

Heyl, *adj.* saved, L. 422.

Heynes, *s.* high station, L. 313.

Heyzed, *pp.* raised aloft, L. 102.

Hire, *pron. pers. her.* L. 285, &c.

Hire, *pron. pers. their.* L. 1224.

Holly, *adv.* wholly, L. 417, 976.

Holour, *s.* whoremonger, L. 782.

Homly, *adj.* familiar, L. 178.

Hool, *adj.* whole, entire, L. 449.

Hym, *per. pron. acc. pl.* them, L. 389.

Hyre, *s.* hire, wages, reward, L. 928.

Hyȝ, *adj.* high, L. 87.

Iche on, *pron.* each one, L. 309.

Ilk, *adj.* same, T. 10.

Ilke, *adj.* same, T. 112.

Inwyttys, *s. pl.* interior senses or faculties, L. 349.

Iues, *s. pl.* Jews, T. 133.

Jugge, *v.* to adjudge, L. 301.

Kast, *v.* to cast about, to plan, L. 1349.

Kende, *s.* nature, L. 271, 275, 279, 470, 473, &c.

Kendly, *adv.* naturally, L. 1386, 1387.

Kennd, *pp.* manifested, T. 559.

Kennes, *pr. s.* makes to know, T. 426.

Kepe, *v.* to have the cure, or care of, T. 39, L. 45.

Kepe, *v.* to keep, to preserve, L. 160.

Kepyng, *s.* charge, care, T. 60.

Kindly, *adv.* by nature, naturally, T. 538.

Knaue, *s.* manservant, T. 239, L. 861.

Knawe, *v.* to know, T. 449.

Knowyn, *pp.* made known, L. 1038.

Knowyn, *pp.* acquainted, knowyn with, acquainted with, L. 178.

Kun, *v.* to learn by heart, T. 31, 63, 69, 563.

Kunnandly, *adv.*, T. 571. *See* *con-* *andly*.

Kynd, *s.* nature, T. 154, 157.

Kyns, *s.* kind, sort, T. 507.

Larnyng, *pres. part.* teaching, L. 34.  
 Lathe, *adj.* loth, disinclined, T. 535.  
 Latsumnesse, *s.* delay, tardiness, T. 528, L. 1377.  
 Lawed, *s.* a layman, T. 293.  
 Lefte, *pt. s.* left out, omitted, L. 177, 181.  
 Leful, *adj.* allowable, L. 336.  
 Lefully, *adv.* allowably, L. 134.  
 Lere, *pr. pl. subj.* learn, T. 62, L. 379.  
 Lered, *adj.* instructed, T. 34.  
 Lered, *s.* a cleric, T. 293.  
 Lerne, *v.* to teach, L. 236.  
 Leryng, *s.* teaching, instruction, T. 38.  
 Lese, *pr. pl. subj.* lose, T. 251.  
 Lese, *v.* to lose, impair, L. 269.  
 Leste, *adj. superl.* least, L. 246.  
 Lesynggys, *s. pl.* leasings, lies, L. 734.  
 Lettys, *pr. pl.* hinder, let, L. 1166, 1291, T. 442, 532, &c.  
 Leue, L. 204. Is not this passage obscure? How can it mean to establish on a firm foundation—“*to grounde hem*” = to leave off, “leue,” to add this. Is it a misreading for “*graunte hem leue* [= permission] to addē þis”? (Is it not “to place their permission on firm ground;” like “grounding” a boat; “to justify” their addition?—H.E.N.)  
 Leue, *imp. sing. 2 per.* leave, give up, L. 873.  
 Leue, *v.* to live, L. 314, 321, &c.  
 Leue, *pr. pl. 1 per. subj.* believe in, T. 174.  
 Leuefull, *adj.* permissible, T. 289.  
 Lefful, L. 1002.  
 Levyng, *s.* manner of life, L. 185.  
 Levys, *pr. s.* believes, L. 247, &c.  
 Licour, *s.* liquid matter, T. 289.  
 Lif, *vn.* to live, T. 201.  
 Ligges, *pr. pl.* lie [in bed], T. 358.  
 Lightenes, *s.* lightening, easing, T. 332.  
 Likand, *adj.* pleasing, T. 386.  
 Likand, *adj.* pleasant, flattering, T. 462.  
 Likings, *s. pl.* appetites, desires, T. 503.  
 Likyng, *s.* desire, fancy, T. 510.

Lite, *s.* tardiness, T. 528.  
 Lithie, *s.* possessions, property, T. 234, 252.  
 Lousyng, *s.* loosing, parting, T. 345.  
 Loute, *pr. pl. 1 per.* bow down to, T. 174.  
 Louyng, *s.* love, or praise, L. 354.  
 Louyng, *s.* praising, L. 331.  
 Lyfode, *s.* subsistence, livelihood, L. 806.  
 Lykyng, *s.* pleasure, T. 195.  
 Lykyng, *s.* covetous desire, L. 1360.  
 Lykys, *impers.* it suits, pleases, L. 212, 258.  
 Lyst, *pr. s. subj. impers.* it may please, L. 1228.  
 Lyte, *adj.* little, L. 921.  
 Lyuelade, *s.* necessaries of life, means of living, L. 212.  
 Lyuynge, *s.* manner of life, conduct, conversation, L. 311.  
 Lyzt, *adj.* easy, L. 871.  
 Lyzly, *adv.* lightly, easily, L. 747.  
 Lyzly, *adv.* easily, with little trouble, L. 960.  
 Lyzlyche, *adv.* easily, on easy conditions, L. 217.

Maidenhede, *s.* virginity, T. 125.  
 Manhed, *s.* manhood, human nature, L. 197.  
 Man-qweller, *s.* mankiller, murderer, L. 808.  
 Matermoyne, *s.* matrimony, T. 218.  
 Maundement, *s.* commandment, L. 549.  
 Mawmetries, *s. pl.* worship of idols, T. 176.  
 Mecher, *s.* skulker, sneak, L. 826.  
 Mede, *s.*, L. 1293. Is not this a misprint for *mete*, as T. has *met*?  
 Medful, *adj.* profitable, L. 601.  
 Mende, *s.* mind, remembrance, L. 112, &c.  
 Menged, *pp.* mingled, L. 166.  
 Men-sleers, *s. pl.* menslayers, L. 736.  
 Mercyes, *s. pl.* works of mercy, L. 1158.  
 Merryng, *s.* injury, loss, T. 124.  
 Mesure, *s.* moderation, temperance, L. 1289.

Methe, *s.* temperance or moderation ;  
Methefulnesse, *s.*, T. 440.

Meyne, *s.* household, members of the household, L. 605.

Mighty, *adj.* able to do (a thing), T. 362.

Mischef, *s.* peril, L. 1105.

Mischefys, *s. pl.* perils, L. 1156.

Misdos, *pr. pl.* ill-treat, T. 370.

Misse, *v.* to lose, come short of, lack, T. 379.

Mister, *s.* need, T. 360.

Modirhede, *s.* motherhood, T. 124.

Most, *pr. s.* must, L. 535.

Moste, *pr. pl.* must, are compelled to, L. 213.

Most, *adj. superl.* greatest, L. 65.

Mot, *pr. pl.* must, have to, L. 314, 321, &c.

Mow, *pr. pl. 1 per.* we may, L. 76, &c.

Mow, *pr. pl.* may, L. 169, &c.

Mynnyng, *s.* ininishing, T. 125.

Mysbileues, *s. pl.* misbeliefs, heresies, T. 176.

Myschef, *s.* misfortune, ill-luck, L. 650.

Myscheuys, *s. pl.* evils, adversities, L. 81.

Mys-dispendys, *pr. pl.* misspends, L. 793.

Myster, *s.* requirement, L. 340.

Namely, *adv.* especially, notably, T. 45, L. 837.

Nedder, *s.* T. 459. Neddir, *s.* T. 458. Neddyr, *s.* L. 518, 1307. An adder, serpent.

Neddyrys, *s. pl.* L. 1306.

Nedelynge, *adv.* necessarily, needs, L. 100.

Nedles, *adj.* those not in want = the rich, L. 666.

Nedlych, *adv.* of necessity, L. 84.

Neghȝe, *pr. s.* approach, L. 347.

Nempne, *v.* to mention, L. 179.

Neuen, *pr. pl. subj. 1 per.* name, make mention of, T. 186.

Neuened, *pp.* named, T. 491.

Neynd, *adj. num.* ninth, T. 232.

Nobley, *s.* nobility, dignity, L. 613, 1311. Nobillary, T. 463.

Noght, *adv.* noght but = only. E. R. Y. nabut, T. 95.

Norischyd, *pt. s.* nourished, fed, L. 286.

Norschid, *pp.* L. 286.

Norschyn, *pr. pl.* foster, uphold, L. 768.

Norschyng, *s.* nourishing, nursing, L. 706.

Noþer, *conj.* neither.

Nyse, *adj.* foolish, L. 634.

O, *adj.* one, L. 401.

Of, *prep. on, under*, T. 71, L. 388.

Of, *prep. of*, T. 252.

Of, *prep. by*, T. 256.

Of, *prep. from*, T. 245, 255, 315, L. 1028.

Of, *adv. off*, Leue of = to forsake, leave off, L. 800.

Ogayn, *adv.* again, once more, T. 111.

Ogayne, *prep. towards, in reference to*, T. 439.

Ogaynes, *prep. against, in opposition to*, T. 304, 436.

Ogaynes, *prep. contrary to*, T. 539, 548.

Oker, *s.* usury, T. 512.

Old, *adj. of the age of reason*, L. 987.

On, *adj. one*, L. 412, 417.

On, *prep. in* T. 49, L. 56.

Onentes, *prep. anent, concerning*, T. 77, 171, 385.

Ordeyne, *v. to dispose*, L. 956.

Ordinary, *s.* L. 767. "Every ecclesiastical superior in possession of ordinary jurisdiction ; in a more restricted sense, a bishop who has right of ordinary jurisdiction in his diocese."—*Ducange*.

Oste, *s.* host, multitude, L. 519.

Oper, *from other*, L. 211.

Oper, *conj. or*, L. 769.

Oper, *conj. either*, L. 213.

Ouer, *adv. moreover, also*, L. 217.

Outrage, *s. T. 441*, excess, or rather overpassing the mean towards either extreme, not only, as now, in the sense of injury or violence, possibly from connecting the word with *rage* from which it cannot be derived. Old Fch. *oltre*, F. *outre*, beyond : with suffix *age* (= L. *aticum*)—L. *ultra*, beyond.—Skeat.

Owe, *vb. impers.* to be bound to, ought, L. 976.

Owe, *pr. pl. 1 per.* ought, L. 978.

Pai, *v.* to please, T. 393.

Pardon, *s.* indulgence, T. 566.

Pardoun, *s.* indulgence, L. 207, 1419.

Parlows, *adj.* shrewd, wicked cunning, L. 804.

Parlows, *adj.* perilous, L. 1225.

Partyclys, *s. pl.* articles of the Creed, L. 243.

Paskes, *s.* Easter, T. 321.

Passē, *v.* to pass away, to die, L. 1266.

Passyngē, *part. pres.* overpassing, outraging, L. 1388. *See* Outrage.

Passys, *pr. s.* surpasses, excels, L. 61.

Parochiens, *s. pl.* parishioners, L. 61.

Partyes, *s. pl.* parts, members, L. 313.

Partyners, *s. pl.* partners, sharers, L. 611.

Patrimoyne, *s.* patrimony, T. 251.

Peyne, *s.* penalty, punishment, L. 125.

Peyne, *s.* pain, L. 142, 357.

Poyntys, *s. pl.* subject matter, circumstances, L. 69.

Porenesse, *s.* poverty in spirit, detachment, L. 1265.

Preche, *pr. s. subj.* should preach to, T. 50.

Prelacy, *s.* prelateship, L. 313.

Prentyd, *pp.* imprinted, impressed, L. 87.

Prestes, *s. pl.* priests, T. 40—of parish priests, as distinguished from prelates, parsons (rectors), vicars, and others in priest's orders.

Pynyd, *pp.* put to pain, tortured, L. 1121.

Querel, *s.* cause, L. 1287.

Qwestmongeris, *s. pl.* conductors of inquests, jurymen, L. 855—857.

Qweynte, *adj.* quaint, singular, L. 1221.

Qwyk, *adj.* living, L. 190.

Qwykyd, *pp.* restored to life, L. 295.

Qwyt, *v.* to pay, requite, L. 1084.

Refuse, *v.* to avoid, to eschew, T. 58, L. 375.

Relerice, *pr. pl. subj.* rehearse, repeat, T. 63, L. 380.

Relercys, *pr. pl.* repeat by heart, lit. to harrow over again, L. 1420.

Religious, *s. pl.* monks, L. 845.

Reme, *s.* realm, kingdom, L. 89; 93, 94.

Rents, *s. pl.* payments, L. 49.

Reuyng, *s.* plundering, T. 221.

Rightwisely, *adv.* rightly, validly, canonically, T. 337.

Rightwisenesse, *s.* Justice the Cardinal Virtue, T. 417.

Riuely, *adv.* regularly, according to rule, rather = rifely, frequently, T. 257.

Roty, *v.* L. 772. From "rut" (cf. rutting tune), whence rote, practise.

Ryȝtful, *adj.* just, L. 531.

Sad, *adj.* sound, steadfast, settled, orthodox, L. 224, 686.

Sadly, *adv.* steadfastly, L. 528, 957.

Saf, *adj.* saved, L. 50, 51. Saufe, T. 44. Lat. salvos, 1 Tim. ii. 4.

Saffely, *adv.* steadfastly, T. 436.

Sal, *pr. pl. 1 p.* shall, T. 526, 529, &c.

Samien, *adv.* together, T. 115, 344, 400.

Samenly, *adv.* together, T. 91.

Sawter, *s.* Psalter, lady sawter = our Lady's Psalter, the Rosary; so called from the 150 Aves.

Schap, *s.* shape, L. 943.

Schape, *pr. pl. 1 per.* address, L. 105.

Scharp, *s.* form of words, L. 998.

Shap, *s.* T. 284, = shape.

Schrewde, *adj.* wicked, L. 139.

Seeler, *adj.* secular, lay, L. 235.

Sekenesse, *s.* weakness, not sickness, T. 147.

Seknesse, *s.* foul sickness, evil smells, L. 342.

Sengyl, *adj.* single, unmarried, L. 1396.

Sere, *adj.* diverse, T. 95, 466, &c.

Seruyd, *pp.* deserved, L. 482.

Seruyse, *s.* prayers, private devotions, L. 569.

Seruyse, *s.* service, Breviary Offices, L. 573.

Seben, *conj.* since, seeing that, L. 294, 746.

Seben, *adv.* then, afterwards, L. 286, 293, 381, &c.

Sewyth, *pr. s.* follows, L. 122, 149.

Sey, *pr. s. subj.* say, L. 1254.

Seys, *pr. s.* sees, L. 1207.

Seyyng, *s.* saying, speech, L. 1253.

Sib, *adj.* related, of kin, T. 216, 555.

Sikerly, *adv.* certainly, T. 331.

Site, *s.* vexation, regret, T. 471.

Sithe, ofte sithe = oftentimes, T. 36.

Sithen, *adv.* afterwards, T. 64.

Skill, *s.* cause, reason, T. 5, 423.

Skillwise, *adj.* rational, endowed with reason, T. 12, 330.

Skillwisely, *adv.* rationally, according to reason, T. 446.

Skilwise, *adj.* reasonable, approving itself to reason, T. 324.

Sklaundir, *s.* slander, T. 489.

Skylful, *adj.* rational, endowed with reason, L. 19, 1037.

Skylfully, *adv.* with good reason, L. 1109.

Slaunthe, *s.* sloth, slowness, T. 524.

Slawnes, *s.* sloth, T. 524.

Sleghe, *s.* prudence, T. 424.

Sleghness, *s.* slyness (in good sense), prudence, T. 424.

Sleyȝte, *s.* prudence, L. 1273.

Slyghtful, *adj.* sly, cunning, crafty, L. 1220.

Sotel, *adj.* subtle, distinct, exact, L. 244.

Sotel, *adj.* crafty, L. 1220.

Sothefastly, *adv.* truly, verily, T. 89, 113.

Sotylte, *s.* depth of meaning, L. 62, 67, 71.

Sonne, *v.* to sound, to resound, T. 475.

Species, *s. pl.* species, kinds, T. 527.

Spedful, *adj.* profitable, useful, L. 603.

Spedyng, *adj.* active, fruitful, L. 354.

Spices, *s. pl.* species, varieties, T. 466.

Spousebrek, *s.* breach of the marriage-vow, here used to explain auontry, a mongrel substitute for the older English wedbrek, T. 551.

Stalthe, *s.* stealth, secret theft, T. 512.

Stalworth, *adj.* stalwart, sturdy, bold, T. 303.

Stalworthly, *adv.* courageously, L. 1279.

Stalworthnesse, *s.* fortitude, T. 430.

Stameryng, *vb. subs.* impediment, faltering [in action], T. 541.

Staunching, *part. pres.* hindering, L. 1390.

Stede, *s.* stead, place, T. 306.

Steyȝ, *pt. s.* ascended, L. 297, 475.

Stole, *s.* garment, L. 1115.

Stronde, *s.* stream, channel, L. 192.

Study, *imper.* 1 *per. pl.* let us endeavour, L. 1213.

Styfly, *adv.* valiantly, L. 1284.

Sugettes, *s. pl.* those under spiritual jurisdiction, or direction, T. 61, 67. Latin subditi.

Sundir, *v.* to separate, discriminate, T. 427.

Suppose, *v.* to infer, to conclude, L. 72.

Suppose, *pr. pl.* 1 *per.* conclude, judge, L. 163.

Swink, *v.* to toil, T. 537.

Swynke, L. 1386.

Swyt, *pr. s.* follows, L. 140.

Tane, *adj.* the tane = the one, T. 411.

Tary, *v.* to dwell, to linger, T. 194.

Tas, *pr. pl.* takes, T. 244.

Tend, *adj.* tenth, T. 237.

Tent, *v.* to be solicitous, T. 194.

Thaim, *pron.* them, T. 69.

Tham, *pron.* them, T. 70.

Than, *adv.* then, T. 111, &c.

Thar, *conj.* because, T. 537.

per, *adv.* where, L. 920.

Thewes, *s. pl.* virtues, T. 382.

Thewe, *s.* virtue, T. 394, 406.

This ilk = these, T. 62.

Tholed, *pt. s.* suffered, T. 132.

Tholemode, *adj.* patient.

Tholedmodly, *adv.* patiently, L. 1279.

Though-whethir, *adv.* nevertheless, T. 93.

Thurg, *prep.* through, T. 14.

ȝyng, *s.* Being, entity, L. 530.

Til, *prep.* to, T. 29, 89, 111.

To, *prep.* unto, while, T. 345.

To, *prep.* of, L. 139.

To whiles = whilst, for the time, T. 139.

To, *prep.* for, L. 194, 214.

To, *prep.* to, with infinitive, L. 220.

To, *prep.* in, into, L. 86.

Tothir, *adj.* second of two or more, T. 86, 411.

Towchis, *pr. s.* touches, treats of, L. 266.

Traised, *pp.* betrayed, T. 133.

Traistes, *pr. pl.* trust, T. 180.

Traiste, *s.* trust, reliance, T. 398.

Traist, *s.* trust, reliance, T. 399, 400, 402, 404, &c.

Treted, *pp.* discussed in council, T. 46.

Trewe, *adj.* honest, L. 116.

Trey, *s.* affliction, sorrow, T. 26; Tray, L. 32.

Trinte, *s.* the Holy Trinity, L. 86.

Triste, *v.* trust, L. 208, 209, &c.

Tristly, *adv.* faithfully, after the manner of faithful servants, L. 1181.

Trouthe, *s.* the Catholic Faith, T. 53 (L. 370, þe feyþ).

Trouthe, *s.* Faith (the theological virtue), T. 387, 391.

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SEP. 14 1994

